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Part II., Vol. XIII.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED 1866.

EDITOR:

WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., LL.M., M.A.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

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1895.

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The Council of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, and the Editor of their Transactions, desire that it should be understood that they are not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in their Transactions: the Authors of the several papers being alone responsible for the same.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY,

1893-4.

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

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1. BOWES: Two days' Excursion along the Roman Road, Re-Cross, Maiden Castle, Brough Castle and Camp - - July 4, 1893.
   Appleby, Camps at Redland, and Kirkby Thore, St. Ninian's Church, Brougham Castle and Camp, Plumpton - - July 5, 1893.

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2. ARNSIDE: Blease Hall, Castlesteads, Preston Hall, Heversham Church - - Sep. 25, 1893.
   Burton Church, Borwick Hall, Warton Church, Beetham Hall and Church - Sep. 26, 1893.

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3. LAKE SIDE HOTEL: Cark Hall, Cartmel Church, Hampsfell Hall, Cartmell Fell Church - - - - - June 13, 1894.
   Colton Church, Knapperthaw, British Settlements on Heathwaite Fell, Kirkby Hall and Church - - - June 14, 1894.

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4. DOUGLAS: Sail from Ramsden Dock, Barrow Sep. 24, 1894.
   Castletown, Rushen Abbey, Malew, Arbory Sep. 25, 1894.
   Kirk Braddan, Tynwald Hill, Peel Castle, Kirk Michael - - - - Sep. 26, 1864.
   Kirk Onchan, Sulby Glen, Ramsey, Kirk Maughold - - - - Sep. 27, 1894.
   Leave Douglas Pier for Ramsden Dock - Sep. 28, 1894.

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ART. XX.—*Extracts from the Records of the Privy Council relating to Cumberland and Westmorland in the Reign of Queen Mary.* By T. H. HODGSON.

Communicated at Lake Side, Windermere, June 13, 1894.

IN continuation of the extracts from the Acts of the Privy Council laid before this Society at their meeting in September last* I now submit further extracts relating to the Reign of Queen Mary. These are somewhat voluminous as warfare on the Borders was incessant, becoming in 1557 so serious as to demand not only the levy in the midland counties of a strong force of "demilances," but also the employment of a body of German mercenaries.

Much trouble seems to have been given throughout this period by that turbulent race, the Grahams of the Debatable Land, the settlement effected or supposed to be effected by the Commissioners appointed in the late reign having apparently but little result. The Surveyor of Berwick was directed to prepare estimates for a fort to be built at Netherby probably with the object of keeping them in check, but it does not appear that the project was proceeded with. Some of the Liddesdale men made overtures of alliance with the English but they seem to have been regarded as rather dangerous allies, Lord Dacre being more than once cautioned to be heedful in his dealings with them.

Private quarrels not unfrequently occupied the attention of the Council—the old quarrel between Lord Wharton and Lord Cumberland being still active notwithstanding the reconciliation which was supposed to have been

* *Vide ante*, p. 69, for Extracts in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward V.

effected

effected. The relations between Lord Dacre and his son Sir Thomas appear to have been somewhat strained, the latter making complaint of his father's behaviour to him, while Lord Dacre himself got into the meshes of the law, being defendant in a suit instituted by one Hewitt, Alderman of London, apparently a creditor. Both were bound over before the Council to abide the issue of the suit, Leonard Dacre and Bartram Anderson, a prominent citizen of Newcastle, being securities for Lord Dacre. No sureties appear to have been taken for Hewitt, his own recognizance being deemed sufficient. During Lord Dacre's absence on this business Leonard Dacre took charge of the West Marches as his deputy, and proved himself a capable and efficient officer.

In at least one case, the imprisonment by Lord Cumberland of one Francis Marr in the Castle of Skipton the Council interfered with commendable promptitude to check what seems to have been a grievous case of oppression.

The religious troubles of the reign appear to have little affected the Border counties. We find, however, one case in which two prebendaries of Carlisle bearing the names still familiar to us of Kirkbride and Sewell were summoned before the Council. The cause does not appear but it was probably heresy. Nothing is said as to their fate, but as they do not appear in Foxe's list we may hope that they escaped the stake.

Again we have to regret the fragmentary way in which notices occur—we get a glimpse of an incident with nothing to show how it began or how it ended—while many entries which promise to be of the highest interest conclude with the words "according to the minute remaining in the Council chest," a repository which undoubtedly contained a mass of documents of the greatest historical value but none of which unfortunately are at present known to exist. With this preface we leave

leave the extracts to speak for themselves. I have not thought it desirable to condense them, but leave the entries for the most part as they stand in the Registers, preserving the curious spelling and quaint forms of expression.

1553. There are no entries relating to the reign—if it may be so called—of Lady Jane Grey. The first entry we find relating to the Borders seems to imply that Lord Wharton, who was Lord Warden of the East Marches, had shown some inclination to support her, as on 29 July, 1553, there is an entry, "Letter to the Lord Wharton" for the qualifying of the former letters sent unto him (these are not recorded) touching the rumour for the raising of his force against the Lord Dacre in the defence of the usurpers quarrel. As usual the Whartons and Dacres seem to have taken opposite sides.

1553, 25 August. The Deputy Warden of the West Marches for anempst Scotland (Lord Ogle) is thanked for his pains, required to continue therein, and to see good order among the inhabitants of the late Debateable ground now known to be mere English. Also Richard Greme (Graham) and other then inhabitants there are required to shew themselves conformable.

3 Sept. Richard Wharton's measures for the discharge of the superfluous labourers and the employment of those that remain about the amendment of the (Scots) dykes are approved, and he is referred as to his proceedings touching the Scots doings to the answer given to the Warden of the West Marches.

9 Sept. Lord Evers (Captain or Governor of Berwick, is instructed that if George Hall who stroke (? struck) the English outlaw at the Day of March ought by the law of the Borders to die he should cause him to be executed in example of like disordered persons.

10 Sept. Instructions were sent to Sir Thomas Dacre and the other Commissioners for the Survey of Church goods within the county of Cumberland.

1553-4. On the 2nd January commission as Warden of the West and Middle Marches for anempst Scotland were sent to Lord Dacre. The following day instructions were sent to him and Lord Conyers for the apprehension of an Italian named Marco Anthonio Erizo who was supposed to be attempting an escape into Scotland.

22 Feb. Lord Dacre is informed as to money here delivered to John Hall

Hall (Sergeant of Ridesdale and Tynedale) and Cuthbert Musgrave (Keeper of Ridesdale) "in trust towards the discharge of such money as is due unto them in the North for the entertainment of their several offices."

Appendix, 1553. 28th July. A letter from the Queen addressed to Lord Wharton to continue in his office until he shall know further of the Queen's pleasure (from the entry above it is evident that he was superseded by Lord Dacre) and the 13th August Lord Evre is directed that as certain persons have offered themselves to object things against Lord Wharton he should send them up well instructed with such matters as they have.

1554, 16 April. A letter to Lord Wharton requiring him to deliver such cattle as are come into his hands which were taken by the English Borderers from the Scots, to Lord Evre, to be by him delivered over to the Scots according to the order given by Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir Robert Bowes, late Commissioners in the North Parts, and to signify to John Hall and Cuthbert Musgrave to do the like with such cattle as they had received. The like instructions to the Lords Dacre and Conyers.

22 April. A letter from Lord Wharton complaining of certain wrongs done to him by Lord Dacres is sent to the latter, "praying him to leave all their particular suits and griefs to the determination of the law.

27 April. Lord Conyers is directed to take the musters of all the able men in his boundary in such form and manner as was used in the time of Henry VIII., so that the horsemen be at all times ready to defend the frontiers and the footmen to be sent into Berwick, Warke, and Norham if they shall want aid. Instructions to the same effect were sent to Lord Dacres, and Sir Robert Bowes was despatched to Berwick "for the better taking of the said Musters." The Receivers of Yorkshire and Northumberland each had orders to pay Sir Robert Bowes £40 for this service.

Sir Thomas Gray and other gentlemen of Northumberland were warned to shew themselves "more forward in service than they have erst done, whereby they shall well redubb their former slackness."

18 May. Lord Dacres is informed that the Queen is pleased to pardon Thomas Gybson and that the ten persons remaining in Carlisle Castle may be released on bail. Also that his request to leave the Middle Marches shall be considered. A dispute between

between John Brisco and Cuthbert Musgrave is referred to Lord Shrewsbury (President of the Council of the North) for decision.

27 August. A letter to the Lord Dacres signifying unto him that his Patents and Commissions for his Wardenry shall be renewed, with also such news as the Queen's Highness hath received of the proceedings between the Emperor and the French King's camp and touching Petro Strozes overthrowen in Italy.

15 Decr. This day the Earl of Cumberland and the Lord Dacres, between whom and the Lord Wharton much variance and strife hath of long time depended, were convented before the Lords and having good exhortation given them to remit all former grudges rancours and displeasures and to continue in unfeigned amity and friendship they promised faithfully so to do and in token thereof took one another by the hand in the presence of the Lords. A similar reconciliation between Lords Dacre and Wharton had been effected in March 1551-2, as may be remembered but seems to have been only short-lived.

1554-5. 15th January. Richard Greyme, Peter Greyme, and William Greyme (Grahams of the Debateable Land) of Cumberland are bound in recognizances of £200 each "to be of good abearing towards the King's (Philip II. of Spain) and Queen's Highness' subjects and shew themselves in all points of their Majesties' service in the Borders obedient to the Warden of the Marches and other officers there for the time being and moreover do what lieth in them from time to time to bring in the rebels and such others of their surname as lately fled into Scotland to be answerable to the law."

19 January. A letter to my Lord Conyers writing him from henceforth to give answer to the Scotch that they can have no more letters for post-horses, the country is so continually troubled therewith that "unnethes" (scarcely) post-horses can be gotten for the Queen's Majesty's special affairs, and also requiring him to certify hither particularly the state of the town of Berwick and what number of soldiers remain there at this present or how many of them or the town dwellers be Scots or suspected so to be.

4 & 5 February. Lord Conyers is warned of warlike preparations of the Scots, and that a French force has been embarked as suspected for Scotland. He is to take precautions accordingly. Sir Robert Bowes received orders to repair to Berwick and in conjunction with Lord Dacres to survey and report on its condition.

19 February. A letter to Lords Dacres and Conyers with copies of correspondence between the Queen of Scots and the Queen's Highness, with instructions to concert measures for redress of things mentioned at their next meeting with the Wardens of the opposite March. Lord Conyers is also directed to forward the Queen's letter to the Queen of Scots, instructing the messenger to "note what conformity he findeth in the Queen of Scots for the delivery of Pelham, Menville, and others—apparently prisoners in Scotland. If this Menville is as is probable one Ninion Menvyle we shall meet with him again. He seems to have been a notorious character on the Borders.

1555, 30 March. A letter to Lord Wharton signifying to him his appointment to the Captainship of the Castle of Berwick (on the same page, however, follows a notice of the appointment of Sir William Vavasour to the same office), and also of his appointment to be Warden of the Middle Marches with the "offices" (qy. Captainship) of Alnwick and Hexham. An entry on the 11th May shews that it was arranged that he should take over the charge of the Middle Marches from Lord Dacres on the 18th of that month, but the next day Lord Dacre is directed to continue in charge of the Middle Marches until he shall hear from Lord Wharton who had accidentally broken his leg, of his recovery and amendment, the latter being instructed to take over the charge on his recovery. Sir George Conyers, Sir William Vavasour and Mr. Norton, Captain of Norham, were appointed Commissioners to be present at the entry of Lord Wharton with his charge.

21st May. A letter to Lord Dacres to report what was the first occasion that the Gremes—Grahams of the Debateable Land—fled into Scotland, how they have demeaned themselves since being there, what answers they have made to his messengers, and what his opinion is touching reformation to be had in this matter. Lord Wharton, Sir Richard Musgrave (Captain of Bewcastle) and Robert of Collingwood were also called on to "signify their knowledge in the premisses hither and to keep the same close to themselves." Lord Conyers, Deputy Warden, was instructed to use caution with regard to the Laird of Goldenknolls, who as it would appear was expected to take refuge in England, this however was not to be permitted, it being suspected to be a plot.

31st May. A proclamation was issued touching the disorders of the Grahams, of this we have the frequent but disappointing notice

notice that it was "according to the minute remaining in the Council Chest." Lord Wharton was notified of this proclamation and exhorted "to forget all private displeasure and join with Lord Dacre in the service of the King's and Queen's Majesties." By a letter to Lord Dacre of the 2nd June it appears that Mr. Maxwell was desirous to meet him for reforming the matter of the Grahams, Lord Dacre however is required in no case to suffer the said Maxwell to enter the English Borders.

13th June. The Wardens of the Marches were cautioned to have their forces in readiness and to keep a vigilant eye on the Scots doings—it appears that a Scotch invasion was apprehended.

23rd June. A letter was sent to Lord Wharton thanking him for his report of the submission of the Grahams. The 2nd July a further bill was sent to him of thanks for his dealing in the matter of the Grahams, also forwarding complaints from the Queen of Scots of disorders on the Borders, again according to the Minute in the Council Chest.

13th July. The Wardens were directed to learn by their best espials what time the ships of Denmark came into Scotland, and with what intention, with such other information as they can gather.

26 July. A letter of thanks to Lord Shrewsbury (President of the Council in the North) "for his diligence and travail in the planting of good order upon the Borders, and as touching his Lordships repair to Carlisle the 6th of the next month to see good order there their Majesties well liketh the same and for the better order of the country and the matter of the Greames his Lordship willed at his coming to Carlisle to cause proclamation to be made that so many of the Greames which are yet abroad as will come in by some certain day by his Lordship to be limited shall be pardoned four of the chief offenders only to be excepted by his Lordship and named at his Lordships discretion in the Proclamation."

1st August. Further instructions were sent him "to take such order for the due administration of justice to the Greymes as they may be satisfied of the wrongs done to them for that they are bound to answer the wrongs by them done to others, whereby they shall be the better able to answer the same and to do their Majesties the better service."

"As for the Scottes of the surnames of Johnsons, Irwens and Belles to be suffered in the wastes of Tynedale in case they

they be pursued, to use that matter as he thinks best, so as it be not known to be done from hence or officers there."

16 August. The Bishop of Durham, Lord Wharton, and Lord Conyers are warned to be at all times ready with their force to withstand all attempts as shall be offered by the Scottes.

28 August. The Wardens of the Marches are informed of the intended departure of the King (Philip II. of Spain) for Flanders, and to have regard to the good rule of the country and cause spreaders of false rumours to be punished.

11 Sept. William Phelipps, yeoman, of Buckingham, was bound in recognizances to appear and answer the charge of robbing one William Briskoo or Brisco, clerk. This may have been one of the Briscos of Cumberland, but there is no clue by which he can be identified.

20 Sept. A letter to Richard Musgrave, whom Sir Rise (*sic*) Musgrave, knight, deceased, left his deputie at Beau Castell (Bewcastle) signifying unto him the King and Queen's Majesties pleasures for his continuance still in the said charge untill a new officer be thereunto appointed and requiring him in the meantime to have a diligent eye to the good order of the country thereabouts.

20 October. The Lords thought good that for the office of Bewcastell the Queen's Highness is to be moved that the same office be appointed to some such gentleman as will dwell thereupon and he to have £100 fee by year by patent with Plumpton Park in lease during the time he is officer; provided that he let and sel the said Park to such as will serve with horse and harness and none other and to pay for the same Park as the rent is now and the certainty of the rent now to be known, and to put out no tenant that will dwell upon it nor none such as have the Queen's lease.

23 October. Hugh Sewele and Barnaby Kirkebred (Kirkbride) Prebendaries of Carlisle, appeared in answer to summons. On the 10th November the matter was committed to Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, and Bourne, one of the Secretaries, for examination, with power to commit them to prison if they think good till the matter be further examined. Nothing more is heard of them, however, and it does not appear what they were accused of.

16 November. A compromise was arranged with Lord Wharton who was claiming arrears of pay due to him while as it appears he was himself largely in arrear as a Crown tenant. It was agreed that on his paying the rents he owed for the year

year ended at the preceding Michaelmas he should have full payment for the residue of his fees.

10 December. A letter to Lord Dacres desiring him to aid with his good will and favour Symon Musgrave, Captain of Beaucastell in the execution from time to time of his office and charge these so as by his Lordships favour towards him the King and Queen's Majesties may be the better served in those parts.

Another letter to the Sheriff of Cumberland (according to the County Histories Thomas Sandford) and to Albany Fetherstonhaugh requiring them in the King and Queen's Majesties names that at such time as the said Simon Musgrave shall enter into the said charge, not only to be there present with him themselves and to be aiding and assisting him therein but also taking a perfect view of the state of the house of Beaucastell and the rest of the office to certify the same hither by their letters, declaring in what sort he findeth the same at the time of his entry thereunto.

26 December. A letter to Lord Dacres (Warden of West Marches) with a Statute book for the Enclosures upon the Borders for anempst Scotland wherein he is willed to signify his opinion and what men his Lordship thinketh meet for the execution of the said Statute. The Council were evidently impatient to have this scheme carried out as on the 28th a list of Commissioners was sent to Lord Shrewsbury, President of the Council of the North, with instructions to consider by what means the Statute might be most readily executed. They were specially amongst other things "to consider the breadth and deepness of the ditches to be made, in what places the new dwelling houses may to all purposes be best placed for safeguard, defence and annoyance, what decayed houses and castles are to be chiefly first repaired, to cause the dwellings to be placed as near the frontiers as may be, and to consider the making of highways."

31 December. Serjeant Browne (Anthony Browne, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a notorious persecutor of heretics) and the Solicitor General, John Gosnold, were called on for their opinion of a claim of Sir Thomas Newenham to the office of Receiver of Cumberland and Westmorland. There is no record of the decision as to his claim.

1555-6, 19 January. Orders were given that all letters for the North "shall be pacquetted with thread for the more safer conveyance thereof."

9 February. A letter was written to the Lord Treasurer touching Bewecastell

Bewecastell, Plumpton Park and the other parts of the North, with the tantalising addition " according to the Minute in the Council Chest."

15 February. A dispute between the Captain of the Citadel and the Mayor and Citizens of Carlisle for the keeping of the keys of the postern gate, the new gate, and the cross wall was referred to Lord Dacre for his decision.

20 February. Lord Wharton was informed that the Commissioners for Enclosures on the Borders shall only meddle with the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and the East and Middle Marches. As we shall shortly come to some long entries respecting the Debateable Land I think it probable that there was a separate Commission for Cumberland.

28 February. In a letter of instructions to Lord Wharton chiefly as to Berwick he is reminded to " rectify the fort of Warcoppe."

2 June. An entry of instructions to Lord Wharton, though relating chiefly to the East Border is of interest as it records the practice at Border meetings. which is said to be " that both parties being come to the edge of the Borders the Scots do first send over to the Englishmen certain gentlemen of theirs to demand assurance for their company which being granted them we send over others to demand the like assurance, the same being granted the English party do thereupon go first over to the Scots and in the open fields treat upon the causes of their coming together and agree upon the next place of meeting upon English ground in some convenient tent or house for that purpose and so afterwards interchangeably to meet one day in Scotland and another day in England."

5 June. A letter to Lord Dacres that the Lords have considered his letters and the plotte touching the fort to be built at Black Bank and although they do not mislike but that it were requisite a fort should be there yet forasmuch as the Scottes do yet build in no other place but in Langholm and Annandale and for that these Borders are presently in good strength it is not thought necessary any new fortification should begin there unless the Scottes should build more near hand which if they shall do upon advertisement of the same hither order shall be forthwith taken either in fortifying that Bank or otherwise as may stand best with the Queen's Majesties service, he is also required to confer more often with the Lord Wharton touching the state of the Borders.

19 June. A letter to the Lord Dacre that whereas the ancient law of

of the Borders is that such as fly out of England into Scotland and commit any offence there and after he return hither he shall be answerable in the same Marches where he first toucheth which order his Lordship hath not observed for having been sent unto from the Lord Wharton for dyvers like offenders who returning into England after their offence committed in Scotland and touching first in the Middle Marches be nevertheless kept in the West March and cannot be brought to justice, which is taken here to be very strange, he is therefore willed and commanded in the King's and Queen's Majesties names both to send all such whose names are contained in a schedule sent herewith, as all others that the said Lord Wharton shall from time to time send for.

22 June. A letter to the Lord Wharton that when it is advertised here from the Lord Dacres that certain English Borderers making raids into Scotland use commonly to return home again but with part of their booty leaving behind them the residue with such of the Scottes as do keep the same colourably to their uses and yet nevertheless the Scottish Wardens at their meetings do demand the whole the said Lord Dacres is written unto to signify the said Lord Wharton before the next day of meeting what their names are that use this practice with other particulars touching their doings to the end his Lordship may at his meeting with the Scottish Commissioners signify the same unto them and thereupon to take further order with them.

A letter to Lord Dacre to the same effect, with a postscript, that where (as) Lamplewe's brother hath been here to make suit for his libertie it is signified to his Lordship that no comfort is given him herein and for that he is determined to obey his order it is hoped that his Lordship will by his discretion restore him to liberty; and touching the ground enclosed by Lamplewe, whereof the question now is, it is informed here that in the time of King Henry the VIII. when the Citadel was built the townsmen of Carlisle were sufficiently recompensed for the same ground and the houses built upon the same so that it cannot be theirs but the Queen's Majesty's ground.

4 July. A letter to the Lord Dacre touching the meeting with the Warden of the Middle March in Scotland, at Kyrsopp (Kershope) or that part of Liddesdale that adjoineth on the West March of England, according to the Minute in the Council Chest.

19 July.

19 July. A letter to the surname of the Grames, that where (as) they have in a skarmouche of late taken certain Scottishmen prisoners they are all commanded upon their allegiance to deliver all the same prisoners to the Lord Dacres to be by him further ordered according to the laws of the Marches, which they have already promised to do, and also to use themselves obedient toward him and his officers in all other matters besides wherein he shall direct them and their doings for the better conservation of amity and quiet.

A copy was sent to Lord Dacre "whom he is willed to have such consideration of (the doubtfulness of the time considered) as his wise and discreet administration of justice may serve to preserve the number of the Queen's Majesty's subjects.

26 July. A letter to Lord Dacre eftsones requiring him on the Queen's behalf to cause all such Scottishmen or their goods as shall be found to remain in the hands of any Englishman within his Wardenry to be immediately restored according to justice and as shall presently be prescribed unto him by her Majesties Commissioners presently upon the frontiers wherein he is required to use the more diligence for that it is alleged by the Scottes that certain of his own servants were at some of the spoils and robberies committed upon the Scottes.

28 July. Letters to the Lord Dacres signifying the receipt of his of the 21st and 23rd hereof and the Queen's good acceptation of his diligent advertisements therein and as touching the Scottes complaints against the Grames and other subjects although it was signified to him by several letters the last being of the 25th (26th ?) hereof, that his Lordship should cause the Greames and all other Englishmen to restore all Scottish prisoners or their goods according to justice for which purpose the Lords wrote also their letters to the said Greames commanding them to follow such order as should be prescribed unto them in this behalf either by the Queen's Commissions on the Borders or his Lordship's yet because it was not advertised hither from his Lordship that they have followed this order their Lordships have eftsones written a letter in this closed to them charging them to see restitution made immediately or else his Lordship to force them by strong hand and to use herein his wisdom. A letter to the Greames according to that effect.

29 July. Orders that the Posts between this and the North should each of them keep a book and make entry therein of every letter that he shall receive, the time of delivery thereof unto his hands with the parties names that shall bring it to him, whose

whose handes he shall also take to his book witnessing the same note to be true which order was also commanded to be given him at the Court and the Wardens of the Marches towards Scotland were required to do the like.

8 August. Letter to Lords Wharton and Dacres respecting the disorders of the Greames and other Englishmen upon the West Marches, according to the Minute in the Council Chest.

11 August. A letter to the Lord Wharton with copies of the Dowager of Scotlands letter and the Queen's Majesties answer thereunto, wherein the said Dowager complaineth of sundrie disorders committed upon the West Borders and because Rosse the herald brought the particularities of those disorders written in Instructions, his Lordship is willed to conceive like instructions of the beginning of this matter and the continuance of the same, and chiefly to declare how that about 12 months past the Greames having committed an offence in the West Marches fled into Scotland and there were received and maintained and could at no time by that means be brought to justice which hath been the greatest and only cause of these disorders which he is willed to alledge as the ground of all inconveniences and nevertheless to signify the Queen's Majesties good minde to continue the amity between both realms and to see things redressed, for which purpose she hath presently written to the Lord Dacres a copy of which letter is herewith sent unto him which he (is) willed to shew to the Commissioners if he think so good, signifying also unto him that the Lord Dacres is likewise written to to see things brought to good quiet and to be contented to be directed by his Lordship in these matters and notwithstanding he seemeth to claim redress at the Scottes hands first and useth that for a means to put of the redress of the last attemptates committed by the Englishmen yet considering the qualities of the offences are not like and that which the Scottes complain of was committed since the Commissioners meeting the said Lord Dacres is required to cause that to be first answered according to justice and the laws of the Borders, the Scottes doing the like for the attemptates committed against this realm within the same time.

A letter to the Lord Dacres of the effect aforesaid.

14 August. A letter to the Lord Dacres that when the Commissioners on the Borders have written several times unto him to see redress done and to follow such direction for the continuance of the peace, a (sic ; ? and) reformation for disorders within

within his Wardenry as should be prescribed unto him from them, forasmuch as by the copy of his letters seen by the Lords here it appeareth that it doth not follow their said directions, neither hath he repaired himself to them nor sent three or four sufficiently instructed to answer for him in these things that should be treated of before them the 10th of this present August and alledging excuses of no importance hath done neither the one nor the other, their Lordships do much marvel thereat and not knowing what inconvenience may follow thereof have good hope that his Lordship hath been better advised since and hath kept the days prescribed unto him by the said Commissioners or else there remaineth great oversight in him, for as on the one side there is no disorders on the Borders but in his Wardenry but remain in quiet to the satisfaction of both sides so hearing that the Scottes do levy men pretending the lack of justice at his hands their Lordships do signify that if they must needs witnesse if any inconvenience should follow that they have sundry times written unto him not only to see justice done and restitution to be made unto the Scottes of any attemptates in disorders committed upon them by any of their Majesties subjects within his Lordships rule, but also for that purpose to follow all such orders as should be to his Lordship prescribed by their Majesties' said Commissioners and eftsoons he is hereby charged to have better regard unto the said commandments from hence and not only follow the direction of the said Commissioners in all other things but also in sending to them such as they shall write for and to repair himself to them if they shall so require him and to stand upon his guard and have his force in such arredynes as if the Scottes upon this occasion would attempt any enterprise his Lordship might be able to meet with the hame in time.

A copy of this letter was sent to Lord Wharton.

4 Sept. Letters of thanks to Lord Dacres, Lord Wharton, and the Commissioners on the Scottish Border for "their advertisements and towardness shewed in the execution of justice." Also a parcel of letters from the French Agent in London was sent for delivery to Mons. Dissell (probably Doycelle or D'Oysel.)

16 Sept. A letter to Lord Wharton and the Commissioners with thanks for their pains taken in the matters committed to their charge, and where (as) it appeareth that the Scottish Commissioners have resisted to come to an end for the Greames and disorders of the West Borders until they may understand the opinion

opinion of the Scottish Council at Edinburgh the said Commissioners are willed in case the answer that shall be returned from the Scottes shall seem reasonable then to take such end with them in that matter as they shall think convenient but if their offers shall not seem fit to be embraced then to ask time to know the Council's resolution thereon here as the Scottes at the first demanded respite to make their Council privy to the motion made in that matter to (sic) our Commissioners.

It may be noted that in the rough copy of the proceedings of the Council which for this period happens to be still existing the following entry, which has not been transferred to the fair copy, occurs under date 26 July.

A letter to Dr. Oglethorpe, Elect of Carlisle, requiring him in the Queen's Majesties name that forasmuch as the gift of his promotions belongeth now to her Royal Highness by her prerogative royal by reason of his election to the Bishopric of Carlisle he should forbear therefore in any wise to resign any of his said promotions and leave the same to be bestowed by Her Majesty.

13 Oct. A letter to the Lord Dacres thanking him for his advertisements of the proceedings of the Scottish rebels and liking well his motion for the placing hereafter of able and serviceable men to be the Queen's Highness tenants within his rule in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland the Lords have promised after the general survey to remember the same specially and to give order for it.

16 Nov. A letter to therle of Cumberland towching certain wronges offered by him to the Lord Wharton his servants and tenants in the County of Westmorland, according to the mynute remaining in the Counsaill Chest.

17 Nov. A letter to the Lord Wharton and the rest of the Commissioners upon the Borders touching the aunswere by them to be made unto the Scottish Commissioners for the Greames' bill, according to the mynute.

23 Nov. A letter to Lord Wharton that when it is written hither from the Lord Dacres that the billes filed and redresseable on the West Marches whiche the Scottes demand amount to m^{l}iiij ^{c}iiij ^{xxli} and that that is to be receyved of them not above c^{li} his Lordship is willed to take ordere where they are most charged as sone as they shall receyve the like and participate his doings herein to the Lord Dacres so as their doings on al partes maye be equall towching the delyverie of recompences.

A letter to the like effect to the Lord Dacres.

19 Dec.

19 Dec. Lettres to the Lord Wharton and the Lord Dacres for the doinge of justice upon the Borders, in suche sorte as is agreed by the Commissioners as well from the Queen's Highness as from the Boord, according to the mynutes remayning in the Counsaill Chest.

1556-7. 31 Jany. A letter to the Lord Dacres requiring him that in case the Lord Flemyng, being eftsones by him required to appoint a newe daie of meeting for redresse of disorders shall refuse to aunswere his expectation in that behalf and by that meanes be occasion of delaie of justice to signifie the matter himself to the Dowager in Scotlande and so to learne what is ment thereby, and further requiringe his Lordship to keep and perfourme the ordre taken by the Commissioners of bothe realmes for the deliverie unto the said Lord Flemyng either Riche Greyme, Fergus or Thomas Greyme, if it shall appere unto him by aunswere from the Lord Wharton that the ordre was so in dede that oone of them three shuld be delivered and none elles, as the said Lord Flemyng alleageth.

23 Feby. Lord Wharton is required to cause the Scottes that are taken to be proceaded with according to the auncient lawes of the Borders, and to cause Noble, the Englisshe rebell taken with them to be ordered without delaye according to justice, that his punishment be a terrour to all such as shall attempte the like. (The "English rebel Noble" may perhaps have been, though the circumstances do not quite agree, the unfortunate Hobbie Noble, whose fate is the subject of the well-known ballad).

1557. 31 May. The Lord Treasurer (Marquis of Winchester) is directed to cause searche to be made in the exchequier to whome the abbey and Manour of Holme Coltram, in the countie of Cumberland, is now leased, for what terme of yeres, and what fine was paid to their Majesties for the same, and to retourne the certentie hereof with speed hither.

2 June. A letter to therle of Westmorland (Lieutenant of the North) the Bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstall) and other the Commissioners upon the Borders, sending unto them a copie of a lettre sent from Sir Thomas Dacre, knight to the Lord Dacre, his father, towching an enterprise attempted by the Scottes of Annerdale upon the King and Queen's Majesties subjects upon the West Borders, and albeit the booty by them taken was reskued and many moore of the Scottishe men slaine than of the Englisshe yet bicause this enterprise was of great consequence and committed sins th appointment of the Commissioners

Commissioners they are willed to set fourthe the matter moore ernestly and to let it be the first thing they move at their meating and to require redresse of the same to the ende that like as the Scottes have allwaies hitherunto pressed the case of the Greames bicause it was during the time of the late Commission so by their example they may presse this matter of the Scottes of Annedale for the same respecte as earnestlie as the Scottes do the matters of Greames.

8 June. A lettre to Ridgewaie, Surveyor of Barwicke, to consider what the charges will be of building a forte at Netherbie and for the repairing of the great dongeon at Carlisle and the late Freer House there for the keping of the munition and ordinance and conferring with the Lord Dacres herein to signifie hither what the same shall ammount to.

A lettre to Simon Musgrave esquier to repaire fourthwith to Bewcastell whereof he is Capitaine and to make his contynuall abode and attendaunce upon his charge there for the better defence and salvegarde of the same.

A lettre to the Lord Dacre with the letter enclosed addressed to Simon Musgrave towching his repair to his charge in Bewcastell which he is willed to deliver unto him and if he shall not accomplishe the contents of the same then to cause him to be removed from that charge and to see that sum other trustie personne have the charge of the said Castell.

13 July. A lettre to the Lord Dacre wylling him to forbeare to entremeddle either with Sir Thomas Dacres servauntes or tenaunts or with any other of the Queen's Majesties subjects to the intent to sende them to any other place of service from those Borders withowt her Highnes' speciall commaundement.

15 July. A long entry occurs of instructions to Lord Dacre and the Earl of Shrewsbury, President of the Council in the North, but as a marginal note shews that these instructions were cancelled, it is not reproduced here.

2 August. A lettre to Sir James Crofts signifieing unto him the sending down of therle of Northumberland in which matter he is willed to breke with the Lorde Wharton and to perswade him to be satisfied herewith and to signifie his inclynacion towching the same hither with spede. (Sir James Croftes was Marshal of Berwick, Lord Northumberland was appointed to be Joint Warden of the East and Middle Marches, at which it seems to have been thought probable that Lord Wharton would take offence).

A lettre to the Maiour of Rye with foure Frenchmen sent hither

hither from the Lorde Dacres whiche he is willed either to use for the redemyng of such as have byn taken by the Frenche of that towne orelles if they shalbe thought not mete for this purpose thenne he is willed to suffer them by vertue of the passport sent herewith to passe into France.

A lettre to the Lord Dacres towching the fortifications of Carlille, &c., according to the mynute in the Counsaill Cheste.

18 August. Like lettres to therles of Shrewesbury, Northumberland, and Westmorland, the Lords Dacres and Wharton, signifieing the taking of the Constable of Fraunce and others, &c. (This was the battle of St. Quentin. The first letter, to which these were similar, was to the Bishop of London for orders for rejoicings in London. Special orders seem to have been sent to the Borders, probably that the English might crow over the Scots for the defeat of their allies the French.)

11 Oct. A lettre to therle of Shrewsbury signifieing unto him that the Lordes do well like the staienge of the Border according to his lettres of the VIth of this present and also the staieng at home of the Lord Dacres and Leonard Dacres for the better service on the Borders, for which respecte ordre is alredie given here for the staye of the process out of the Court of theschequier upon the condempnacion against him. (Lord Dacre, as it appears, was sued for debt by a citizen of London. We shall hear more of it.)

21 Nov. A lettre of thanks to the Lord Dacres for his advertisements of thinnerode made by him of (*sic*) into Scotland, according to the mynute remaining in the Counsaill Chest.

4 Decr. A lettre to the Lord Dacres that where he desireth to knowe the Queen's Majesties pleasure towching such Lyddesdale men as offer to become Englisshe and to serve her Majestie against the Scottes he is willed to receyve them and to appoynte them to sum service as maye annoye the Scottes, whereby they shall declare thiere good affection and devotion towards this State; forseing nevertheless that he do not put them in trust in such service wherein they might do hurte and deceyve him whiche ordre he is willed to observe with all other that shall offre the like.

8 Decr. A lettre to the Lord Dacres signifieing the receipt of his lettre of the last of Novembre and as towching the assuraunce made by the Gremes with the Scottes, for (asmuch) the same is to be misliked and met withall in tyme as before the Queen's Majestie do proceade to any extremitie towardes them it is thought good to procure to call them backe and wynne them (if

(if it maye be) by fair meanes and for that purpose it hathe been devised that the Erle of Pembroke shuld write his pryvate lettre unto them declaring thier faulte and perswading them to give upp thier assuraunce as by the copye of the said lettre whiche together with the original is presently sent unto him he maye at better length perceive, whiche lettre he is willed to cause to be delivered either by sum oone of those Borderers that is towardes the said Erle or by sum suche other personne as maye do the same with least suspition and untyll it may be perceived what the said Greames meanynges shalbe he is willed to use them with as moche gentlenes and indifferencye as he maye, procuring rather to wynne them by gentlenes than to stir them to any further disordre untill they shall shewe themselfes to be utterly broken and unhable to be reconciled.

23 Decr. A lettre to the Lord Dacres of thankes for the diligence used by his two sonnes in the inrode by them made into Annerdale, and towching his request to repaire hither at the next Terme, bothe to declare the state of the Borders and to aunswere an accion against him in theschequier, he is willed in no case to departe from that his chardge untill he shall further the Quenes Majesties pleasure; and as for the state of the Borders he maye signifie the same by his lettres from tyme to tyme hither, and for the aunswering of the accion he maye appointe his learned counsaill and attorney, to aunswere the same, so as his oune presence is not so reqnisite thereat, who shalbe harde with justice and favour.

1557-8. 7 Jany. Thre lettres to therle of Northumberland, the Lord Dacres and the Lord Evre signifying to them thaproching of the Frenche to Callays, wherfore they are wylled to have the more care, foresight and dylligence to their severall charges according to the truste reposed in every of them, and to signify hither from tyme to tyme what they shall learne by their spialles of the Scottyshe attemptates.

(The Council had received a report that a French fleet was sailing northward, as was suspected for Scotland. It seems, however, to have been a false alarm.)

4 Feby. A lettre to the Lord Dacres signifiyng unto him thorder taken with Sandy Armestrong, according to the notes of the conclusion with him remayning in the Counsell Chest, and where the saide Sandy feareth that if he shall do any annoyaunce to the Scottes, he shalbe in some daunger of suche Englishemen as the Scottes as (*sic*) allyed with, his Lordship is

is wylled to forsee that he incurre no damage for hys good servyce, but that all suche as shall attempte any thinge agaynst him herein may be sharpely punisshed according to justyce.

4 Feb. A lettre to Sir Richarde Sowthewell (Master of the Ordnance) to call thofficers of thordynance to him, and to consyder whither one James Spencer, having been commended hither from the Lord Dacres and the Mayour of Carlisle to be a fytt man to be Master Gunner of that towne, be mete for that rowme or no, and thereuppon to geve order for the placinge of him accordingly.

24 March. Where informacion hath been exhibited unto the Borde by the Lorde Wharton, conteyning sundry heynous and grevous disorders committed heretofore against him and his tenantes by therle of Cumberlande, the Lords, having respecte to the present tyme of servyce in which they thinke it not mete to call for either of the parties out of their cuntreys taunswer the sayde matters, have this day resolved to differ the hearing of the same untyll the begynning of the Parlyament in wynter nexte, untyll which tyme bothe parties are commaunded, therle by speciall lettres and the Lord Wharton by mouth at the Borde, to remayne in their present and severall possessions quietly without any disturbaunce thone to thother, the saide Erle being also required to forbeare from henceforth from the committing of the like dissorders either towarde the said Lord Wharton himself or any of his saide tenantes.

1558. 27 March. A lettre to therle of Westmorlande touching certein supplyes of ordinance and munytion for the Citadell in Carlysle, &c., according to the mynute remayninge in the Counsell Cheste.

1 May. A lettre to the Lord Dacre desyring him to advertise by his lettres the Threasourer of Barwyck, not only the names of the gunners which were lately sent from hens to Carlisle by the Master of thordynance here in the cumpany of one John Edwardes, but also of the very day when they arryved and came to Carlisle to serve there, praying his Lordshipp in lyke manner therof tadvertise also Mr. Brende, the Muster Master, to thende he may addresse furth his warraunt for their pays accordingly.

22 May. A lettre to therle of Westmorlande with a Supplicacion exhibited here by one John Man enclosed, wherin he complayneth that one Fraunces Man, his brother, was aboute Mighelmas

Mighelmas last taken by certein servantes and officers of therle of Cumberland and committed to prison in the Castell of Skipton, where he is still deteyned, and as is thought deade. His Lordship is wylled to examyne dilligently for what cause the saide Man was apprehended, and if he shalbe deade he is than wylled to cause all the parties named in the Supplicacion, and all other that he shall fynde culpaple herein, to be apprehended and committed to saf warde and furder examined, and to signifye hither what he shall have found oute herein; and if he shalbe found a lyve and matter wherwith to charge him, than to committ him to the common gaole to be furder proceded withall according to justyce; if there be no matter against him than to put him at liberty and to punishe them that have so punisshed him without deserte, according to his Lordship's discrecion.

29 May. A lettre to the Lord Dacres of thankes for the good exployte done uppon thopposite Marche, requyring him seing he hath an augmentacion of force uppon the Marches, so temploye the same as the Quenes Majestie have no just cause to thinke her charges there yll bestowed, but that he use all the meanes he can to annoye thennemy.

2 June. A lettre to therle of Westmorlande of thankes for his advertismentes of the exploite doone of late uppon the West Marches by the Lord Dacres bande, and for that he signifyeth that the Scottes hath withdrawen ccc speres from their West Borders, wherby the Lord Dacres hath good oportunytie tannoye them, his Lordship is wylled to write earnestly unto him herein and to pricke him forwarde to thexecucion hereof, so as the Quenes Majestie may thinke thaugmentacion of her charges there well bestowed.

30 June. A lettre to the Master of the Wardes requyring him to take such order furthewith as no processe be awarded out of that Courte againste the Lord Wharton, in his matter depending there, before the return of the Master of the Rolles out of the North, and before the same may be harde by him and others of the Counsell to whome the Quene hath committed the hearing therof.

11 July. A lettre to therle of Westmorland touching his bayling of therle of Cumberlandes servauntes and tenauntes in the matter of the conveyaunce of Fraunces Man to the Castell of Skipton, &c., according to the mynute remaying in the Counsell Cheste.

The 23 July Lord Westmorland was again warned of a French fleet at sea, as supposed for Scotland.

12 August

12 August. A lettre to Leonarde Dacre signifyinge the Quenes Majesties well taking of the Lord Dacre his father's late enterprise againste the Scottes, and bycause the chiefest tyme to annoye thennemyes by burninge and spoyling their corne and provisions before the same can be put in suertye is nowe, he is required, seing he hath now the charge of the West Marches during his father's absence, to devyse with the trusty and skylfull persons under his rule howse (*sic*) to annoye the Scottes from tyme to tyme the best he may, having nevertheles regarde not to hassard himself and those under his charge further then may stande with the suerty of the Borders and be agreable to the consideracion and good conducte that ought to be in one occupying the place and charge that he doothe.

29 August. A lettre to Maister Leonarde Dacre of thankes for the good exploite by him lately doone uppon the West Marche of Scotlande, which his good dilligence he is willed to contynue and to annoye thennemy from tyme to tyme as he maye.

30 August. A lettre to therle of Westmorland of thankes for his advertisementes; he is also willed to call uppon Mr. Leonarde Dacres, Deputy Wardein of the West Marches, tannoye thennemy as moche as he maye, so as the Quenes Majestie may have cause not to thinke that the newe charge uppon that Borders be not vaynely imployed.

3 Sept. This daye the Lorde Dacres being before the Lordes of the Counsell touching the matter in controversy betwene William Huett, Alderman of London, and him for certain leade, was contented to stande to suche order as shulde be taken herein, aswell for the pryncypall debte asfor all the costes and damages, by the Busshopp of Ely and the Master of the Rolles, and if they cannot bringe the sayde Mr. Huett tagree hereunto than to make reporte to the Lordes what they shall have doone herein.

Willelmus Dacre, miles, Dominus Dacre de Graystoke, recognovit se debere Willelmo Hewet de civitate London, Aldermanno, tria millia librarum, &c.

5 Sept. The condicion of this recognizaunce is suche that if thabove-bounden William Lorde Dacre do stande, obey, perfourme, fullfiyll and kepe suche awarde, arbytrement and order to be taken betwene him and the saide William Hewett for and concerning a condempnacion in the Courte of the Exchequer agaynst the sayde Lorde Dacre, toguyther with Leonarde Dacre, his sonne, and Bartram Anderson of Newcastell

castell, at the sute of the sayde Hewett, by the Reverend Father in God, the Busshopp of Ely and the Master of the Rolles for the somme of m^{l}m^{l}xx^{li} and do agre and stande unto suche ende and determynacion as shalbe by the saide arbitratours taken touching the same, so as the saide arbitrement be geven in writing before the first of October nexte to suche of the saide parties as shall demaunde the same, than this present recognizaunce to be voyde and of none effecte, orelles, &c.

Willelmus Hewet de civitate London, Aldermannus, recognovit se debere, Willelmo Dacre, militi, Domino Dacre de Graistoke, tria millia librarum, &c.

The condicion of this recognizaunce is suche that if thabovebounden William Hewett do stande, obey, perfourme, &c., *ut supra pro Domino Dacre.*

21 Sept. A lettre to Leonarde Dacre, esquier, of thankes for his ryding in Annerdale, which his servyce is moche commended and he desyred to contynue the same, and albeit this sorte of receyving suche as yelde themselfes cannot be accoumpted otherwise in him than zeale of good servyce, yet the nature of those men being consydered here, and how falseley they have served after their submyssyon, and oftentymes put the Wardein to whome they have submytted themselfes in daunger, &c., he is required to forbeare hence forthe in receyving any more uppon assuraunce, and yet, neverthelesse, for that he shulde not seme to be touched or defaced in hys doinges, he is wylled to use thies that he hath alredy taken in suche sorte as he thinketh best they may shewe their devotion and faithefull myndes to this state. Foreseing alwayes that he do not further truste them [than] he shall fynde himself hable to rule them if they shall goo aboute tattempt any thinge, and also to have specyall eye over them that shalbe suffred to come into this realme, least they come rather as spies than otherwise, and meane rather to espye tyme of advauntage whan they may easely hurte, than to do any servyce to this state.

19 Oct. A lettre to Leonarde Dacres, Deputy Wardein of the West Marches foranempst Scotland, of thankes for using the servyce of some of those Scottishe men which came into him of late uppon promise to thannoyaunce of that realme, wherin he desyred to contyne and to kepe them occupyed to the servyce of the Quene and annoyaunce of thennemy; and being desyrous tunderstande the Counselles opynion howe the pledges of those Scottyshemen are to be used that have layed in the same,

same, and havinge had interteynement the laste warres, were syns discharged and therfore fynde themselfes burdened with the charges of their saide pledges, it is signifyed unto him touching that matter that the Lordes thinke it good the same pledges be by his discretion had further into the realme and disposed to dyvers gentlemen suche as be of his acquayntaunce and wyll aunswer for them, and that they see no cause here why the sayde Scottishemen shuld thinke themselfes so soore burdened with the charges of their saide pledges, consyderinge that they are in that respecte specially forborne and spared from burninge and spoylinge, wherof otherwise they were lyke to stande in contynuall daunger from tyme to tyme.

31 Oct. A lettre of thankes to Leonarde Dacres, esquier, Wardein of the West Marches foranempst Scotlande, for his good order taken with suche of the Scottes as uppon their sute of assuraunce do come into the servyce of this realme, and for his wyse refusaill tadmytt the Larde of Maugerton and others therunto before they had declared by their dedes some good effecte of their devocion that waye, which order he is requyred to contynue. He ys thanked also for thexecucion he caused to be doone uppon certein disordred persons that were arrayned lately within that Wardenry; and as touchinge the discharge of Captein Tuttye and his bande, consyderinge that matter hath passed by some resolucion of the Lord Lieutenaunt, it is signifyed unto that the Lordes meane not to alter that resolucion before they shall have spoken with his Lordshipp in that behalf.

4 Nov. A lettre of thankes to Leonard Dacre for his good servyce uppon the Borders, advertising him that the Quenes Majestie is pleased that the ccth harquebusyers under the leading of Captein Tuttye shall for a longer tyme remayn uppon the Borders, which he is wylled so to use as the Quenes Majestie have no cause to thinke that charge yll employed.

This is the last entry relating to the Borders in the reign of Queen Mary, who died 17th November, 1558.

ART. XXI.—*A Grave Cover of Tiles at Carlisle.* By the PRESIDENT.

Communicated at the Isle of Man, September 24, 1894.

WHILE engaged at the Midsummer Quarter Sessions for this year [July 3, 1894] holden for the county of Cumberland, a note was handed up to me from the reporters' desk, informing me that a find of inscribed stones had just been made in Brook Street, Carlisle. Brook Street runs out of London Road to the eastward and is within the district, which I have shown to have been the principal cemetery of Roman Carlisle, of *Luguvallium*.* Not being able then to go myself, I asked our fellow member, the Rev. W. S. Calverley, to go to Brook Street and make what enquiry he could about the find, and the circumstances under which it was made: this account is written from Mr. Calverley's notes.

The "inscribed stones" turned out to be a barrow load of red roofing tiles of Roman date, of which only two were unbroken: these tiles measure each 18 inches by 12½ inches at the one end, and 12 inches at the other: the thickness is 1½ inch: a flange about an inch deep is turned down along the longer sides, and these flanges at the wider ends are notched out to receive the narrower ends of other tiles. Lengthwise on one of the whole tiles is the stamp

LIIG II AVG

that is *Legio Secunda Augusta*, the two I's being used instead of E: † portions of this stamp appear on other of

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* Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. xii, p. 365.

† See an instance in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 100, and see Wright *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon*, 3rd edition, p. 233.

the

the fragments: on one the two last letters of it are duplicated, the stamp having slipped. The other whole tile has on it, crosswise,

LEG · XX VV

that is *Legio Vicesima Valeria Victrix:* There is a triangular stop between the LEG and the XX. The usual dog's pad, impressed on soft clay, is on one of the fragments. These tiles formed the cover of a grave, and were about three feet below the present level of the ground, the interment was just in, not on, the gravel, and the space excavated for it was 7 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 5 inches. The darkish fine mould found under the tiles, and the presence among it of several iron nails would seem to indicate the use of a wooden coffin. The grave lay nearly east and west, and the western portion had been smashed a good deal by the labourers, who removed the material. The eastern end of the grave cover was seen *in situ* by Mr. Calverley: from it, it appears that the cover was constituted of three rows of tiles, the outermost rows being with the flanges turned upwards, and the centre row with them turned downwards over the inner flanges of the two outer rows. Only the middle row of tiles were stamped, and as five stamped tiles appear, we get five tiles by three as the length and breadth of the grave cover, unless the solitary tile marked LEG · XX VV belongs to another interment, but it is more likely that the legionaries of the Augustan Legion in burying a departed comrade had to eke out a deficiency in tiles by borrowing from *Valeria Victrix.*

Several tombs covered with tiles have been found at York, and some of them are preserved in the York Museum,* the tiles bearing the stamps of the Sixth and of the Ninth Legions. The tiles, whole and broken, now found at Carlisle, have been removed to the Museum at Tullie House.

* *Handbook to the York Museum*, Eighth Edition, Nos. 70 to 73 d.

ART. XXII.—*A Grasmere Farmer's Sale Schedule in* 1710.

By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Read at Lake Side, Windermere, June 13, 1894.

THE following Sale schedule of the goods of a Grasmere yeoman is in the possession of Mr. Stephen Marshall, of Skelwith Fold, Ambleside. It is of interest in more than one way. To begin with it contains a great many obsolete terms (some probably quite local) for farming and domestic appliances. Many of these were quite new to me when I first saw the document, but by the aid of old farmers and local glossaries, I have been able to find out the meaning of most, and they are explained in a glossary at the end. The next point of interest is that it shows the value of stock and farm produce in Lakeland a hundred and eighty years ago. There are also the prices realized for furniture, wardrobe, and the agricultural implements. It should also be noticed that the sale was not completed in several consecutive days, as at present. There were in all five auctions, held respectively on the 17th, 24th, and 31st of October, 1710, and the 30th January and 8th March following. Although buyers below the value of ten shillings were to pay cash, those who purchased above that sum were allowed credit to November 11th (Martinmas day) 1711. A few pages are missing, but at the end will be found a summary of the debts of the deceased, and also an account of the sale and funeral expenses.

Unfortunately documents of this character are uncommon, even among bundles of title deeds belonging to small estates. For this reason I venture to bring this before the notice of the Society.

A Schedule or Memorand of all such goods and Chattells as were sold at the late Dwelling House of Wm Hawkrigg late of underhelm in Grasmere, in the County of Westmorld yeo: Deceased, on Tursday the seventeenth Day of October Ano Domini 1710, in publick Sale: The order of the sale being as followeth, that is to say: Any who buy any goods whose price shall not amount to 10^s^ are to pay present money to Catherine the Relict and Executrix of the said William Hawkrigg: And Any who buy any Goods whose price shall amount to 10^s^, or upwards may have time for paymt, untill Martinmas Day come a year, Provided they enter into Security for paymt thereof accordingly, to the said Catherine Hawkrigg or her Assignes, for the use of Hannah Hawkrigg her Daughter, before they depart from the Sale, or at any time after upon Demand

		lib	s	d
Imprimis John Park bought	a Little Heifer	0	14	6
Mr. Robert Atkinson	a Little Heifer	0	16	6
John Jackson de Wythburn	a Little Heifer	0	15	7
Mr. Robert Atkinson	a Little Heifer	0	16	6
William Sawrey	a Little Heifer	1	3	0
James Dawson younger	a Heifer	1	15	6
John Mackreth	a Heifer	2	5	1
John Wilkinson Doctor	a Heifer	2	8	2
William Brathwayte de Wrey	a Heifer	2	8	4
Edward Brathwayte	a Heifer	2	19	1
William Knipe	2 Stears	5	1	6
John Ullock younger	a Cow	2	18	3
Christopher Cowpthwayte	a Cow	2	19	0
George Mackreth de Throng	a Cow	3	8	3
Mr Christopher Bethom	the widdows Cow ...	3	14	4
William Turner Taylor	Robert Hawkrigg's Cow...	3	0	6
Christopher Cowpthwayte	a ffatt Cow	1	13	0
Edward Park 10 Lambs at 2s 4d. a piece & 3d further at all		1	3	7
John Hird 10 Lambs at 2s 2d a piece & 5d further ...		1	2	1
Solomon Benson 10 Lambs at 2s 8d a piece & 8d further ...		1	7	4
John Dawson 5 Lambs at 3s 3d a piece		0	16	3
Thomas Green 10 Twinters at 2s 8d a piece & 2d further at all		1	6	10
Edwin Green de Blintarn Gill 3s 3d & 2d furthr, for 10 Twinters		1	12	8
Lanclott Harrison 20 weathers		6	0	0
John Benson de Ambleside a ffoal		1	3	6
Joseph Wood a Colt p Johannem Mackreth		1	16	10
John Benson de Ambleside a Mare		3	14	2
	Totall is...	59	0	4

Memorand

Memorand that in the Sale aforemencond was sold one Cow called the widdows Cow came to 3lib 14s 4d and a Cow of Robert Hawkrigg's came to 3lib 6d. which amounts to 6lib 14s 10d which will Reduce the Sum to ... lib 52 s 5 d 6

A Schedule or memorand of all such goods and chattells as were sold at Underhelm in Grasmere in the County of Westmorld on Tuesday the Twenty ffourth Day of October Ano Domini 1710 in publick Sale. *(Terms as before....but credit given to those who buy above* 10s, *till the eleventh Day of November, which will be Ano Domini* 1711.*)*

				(1)* lib	s	d	ob
Imprimis Edward Partridge	a p of Breeches			0	0	10	
William Dickinson p'uxor	a p of Breeches			0	1	9	
Joseph Hawkrigg	a p of Breeches			0	7	6	
John Hawkrigg	a vest			0	1	0	
George Brathwayte p'uxor	a vest			0	0	5	
John Newton de Gillfoot	a Coat			0	2	8	
William Dickinson p'uxor	a Coat			0	7	10	
John Newton de Gillfoot	a Coat			0	5	7	
John Hawkrigg	a Coat			0	8	7	
Idem	a Coat			0	7	2	
Wm Brathwayte de Saurey	a p of Shoes			0	0	8	
John Newton de Gillfoot	a p of Shoes			0	2	5	
John Hawkrigg	a p of Shoes			0	3	5	
Idem	a Hatt			0	1	6	
William Walker her servant	a Hatt			0	1	4	
John Newton de Gillfoot	a Shirt			0	1	9	
Stephen Hawkrigg	a Shirt			0	1	10	
Idem	a Lin Shirt (2)			0	2	0	
Wm Braythway de Sawrey	10 weathers at 3s 4d apiece & 1d furthr			1	13	5	
John Jopson	10 Ewes at 3s 6d a piece & 6d further at all ...			1	15	6	
				6	7	2	
				lib	s	d	ob
William Brathwayte de Sawrey	9 sheep at 3s 7d apiece & 8d furthur			1	12	11	
Joseph Wood	a Ram			0	4	1	
Idem	one other Ram			0	6	10	
John Newton	a pack sadle			0	3	0	

* The small numbers in brackets (1), (2), &c., are references to the Glossary.

William

		lib	s	d	ob
William Jopson de Easdale	a pack sadle	0	0	11	
John Preston	a pack sadle	0	1	6	
Thomas Green	a pack sadle	0	3	11	
Joseph Wood, a hive of Bees	Robert Hawkriggs... ...	0	8	0	
John Ullock	a gimer Hogg (3) ...	0	3	0	
John Preston	2 Canns	0	0	5	
John Dixon	a milking pale & a Can ...	0	0	5	
Thomas Benson	a barrell & a stand ...	0	1	0	
William Dickinson p'uxor	Chees-Rums & ffatts (4) ...	0	0	3	½
John Grave de Legberthwagte	a wood bottle	0	0	3	
Thomas Benson	a milking pale	0	0	8	
John Grave de Legberthwayte	a wood Can	0	0	2½	
Thomas Benson	a mash ffatt (5)	0	1	0	
Thomas Benson	a Churn	0	0	8	
Idem	a mash ffatt	0	1	5	
Idem	a milking pale	0	1	0	
Thomas Green	a Daw Tub (6)	0	1	4	
John Preston	a fflesh Tub	0	4	8	
Idem	a Chair	0	0	0	½
John Ullock	a Throwen Chair (7) ...	0	0	0	½
James Dawson Broadrein	a Throwen Chair ...	0	0	7	½
Idem	a Throwen Chair ...	0	0	7	½
Thomas Benson	a Throwen Chair ...	0	0	7	
Stephen Hawkrigg	a pair of Ropes	0	1	4	
James Dawson Broadrein	a pair of Ropes	0	1	6	
James Ullock	a pair of Ropes	0	1	6	
Thomas Benson	2 Rakes	0	0	2	
Idem	2 Rakes	0	0	1	½
John Hawkrigg	a Hackney Sadle ...	0	8	6	
Idem	2 muck fforks	0	0	7	½
Thomas Benson	2 muck fforks	0	0	8	
Idem	a cole-rake (8)	0	0	3	
Idem	a Hack (9)	0	1	2	
Wm Sawrey	8 Cowbands	0	0	6	½
		4	15	9	½

		lib	s	d	ob
John Ullock	6 Cow bands	0	0	7	½
Thomas Sewart	a p of Crooks (10) ...	0	0	3	
John Preston	a p of Hotts (11) ...	0	0	2	½
Idem	a p of Hetts	0	0	5	½
Thomas Sewart	a p of Hotts	0	0	3	½
Thomas Benson	a p of Hotts	0	0	1	½
ffrancis Rigg	a p of Hotts	0	0	2	
John Richardson	a peat hott	0	0	3	
Thomas Benson	an oxe-yoak	0	0	6	
Idem	Swingle-Trees	0	0	7	

Idem

		lib	s	d	ob
Idem	Swingle-Trees	0	0	8	
Idem	an iron Team (12) ...	0	2	0	
Idem	Tugg & Bands (13) ...	0	0	2	¼
Idem	a plow-stick (14)... ...	0	0	2	
Idem	a plow	0	1	0	
John Grave	a plow & irons	0	4	0	
John Partridge	an iron mell	0	1	6	
Thomas Benson	a Gavelock (15)	0	3	6	
Idem	a Syth & Strickle (16) ...	0	0	5	
John Walker Goody-bridge	a syth & strickle ...	0	0	9	½
John Walker ffidler	a syth	0	1	6	
Idem	a p of Traces	0	0	4	
James Dawson	a p of Traces	0	0	8	
Idem	a p of Haims (17) ...	0	0	2	
James Ullock	a p of Haims	0	0	0	½
John Preston	a wantyth & rope (18) ...	0	0	3	
John Hawrigg wright	Some Girths	0	0	1	
John Preston	a Leathern Girth... ...	0	0	8	
John Hawkrigg wright	a Bridle...	0	0	7	
John Hawkrigg wright	a Sledge	0	0	4	
James Dawson de Broadrein	20 shocks of oats on the Lower mow	0	9	6	
		1	11	10	

	lib	s	d
All Amounts to ...	12	14	10

	lib	s	d
Memorand that in this note is a Hive of Bees charg'd at 8s belonging to Robert Hawkrigg which reduceth the sum to	12	6	10

(*A Schedule of goods sold* 31 *Oct* 1710. *Heading worded similarly to No* 1.)

		lib	s	d	ob
Imprimis Joseph Wood	Some Dishes	0	0	5	½
Jane Knott widdow	Some Trenchers &c. ...	0	0	5	
Eadem	a chees fatt & Tunnell (19)	0	0	0	½
John Mackreth cryer	a Little Pan	0	0	7	
John Jackson de Wythburn	2 Morters & a pestill ...	0	0	4	½
Debora Birkett	a wood can	0	0	3	½
Eadem	a Large Can	0	0	5	
Joseph Wood	an iron spitt	0	0	6	
John Mackreth Cryer	a flesh ffork & scures &c (20)	0	0	6	½
Joseph Wood	a strikeing knife	0	0	11	
Thomas Benson	a Tin pott	0	0	5	
Jane Knott widdow	a Candlestick and a spoon	0	0	5	

Thomas

		lib	s	d	ob
Thomas Benson	a Tin Candlestick ...	0	0	3	
Agnes Jackson	a Dropping Pan (21) ...	0	0	6	
Thomas Benson	a Chafeing Dish ...	0	1	3	
Idem	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	6	
Idem	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	6	
Edward Walker p'uxor	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	5	
James Dawson junr	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	6	
Thomas Benson	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	8	
James Dawson junr	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	9	
John Preston	a Little Schreenge (22) ...	0	0	8	½
James Dawson de Broad-rein	a p of weights	0	0	2	½
John Grave de Legberthwt	an iron Team	0	1	2	
Thomas Benson	a Throwen Chair... ...	0	0	7	½
Edward Walker p'uxor a hack & plain stock & bitt (23)	...	0	0	3	
John Hawkrigg smith	a fflawing spade (24) ...	0	1	2	
Robert Hawkrigg	a fflawing spade	0	0	2	½
		0	15	0	½

		lib	s	d	ob
James Ullock	a peat spade	0	0	4	½
John Hawkrigg smith	a fflawing spade	0	0	3	½
Joseph Wood	a garden spade	0	1	1	
John Preston	a thwart Saw	0	1	5	
Thomas Benson	3 Sickles	0	1	3	
John Hawkrigg smith	a Syth	0	0	2	½
Rowland Wilkinson p'uxor	some Cow bands... ...	0	0	4	
John Jackson	some Cow bands... ...	0	0	2	½
Thomas Benson	a p of Bedstocks... ...	0	3	8	
Thomas Benson	an iron wedge	0	0	10	
Idem	an iron wedge	0	0	8	
John Preston	an iron wedge	0	0	5	
Idem	an iron wedge	0	0	4	
John Mackreth	a ffowling piece	0	15	10	
Thomas Green	a Trunck	0	0	10	
Idem	a Chest...	0	1	0	
Mary Green	2 Carping Cushions (25) ...	0	0	9	
Robert Hawkrigg p'uxor	a Blankett	0	0	5	
Robert Walley	a Blankett	0	1	3	
Isabell Tompson	a happing (26)	0	0	9	
John Grave de Legberthwt	a Lin Sheet	0	0	9	
Idem	a Lin Sheet	0	1	4	
Robert Oatley	a Lin Sheet	0	1	6	
John Grave	a Lin Sheet	0	1	10	
Edward Walker p'uxor	a Pillow cover	0	0	2	
John Lowis	a Pillow cover	0	0	5	
James Ullock	a Sheet	0	0	9	
Agnes Jackson	a Lin Sheet	0	1	2	
Robert Oatley	a Sheet	0	1	8	

Rowland

		lb	s	d.
Rowland Atkinson	a Feather Bed	0	18	3
John Grave de Legberthwt	a boulster	0	2	0
Idem	a Pillow...	0	0	4
John Mackreth Cryer	a stone of Blackwool ...	0	4	7
Robert Oatley	2 stone of wool	0	9	8
James Dawson junr.	2 stone of wool	0	9	8
James Dawson junr.	2 stone of wool	0	9	8
Idem	2 stone of wool	0	10	0
Catherine Hawkrigg	2 stone of wool	0	9	6
Eadem	30 sheep at 3s. 4d. apiece	5	0	0
Eadem	a pewter Dubler (27) ...	0	2	8
Eadem	a pewter Dubler	0	2	8
Eadem	a pewter Dubler	0	2	6
		11	3	0

Joseph Wood

		lb.	s.	d.	ob
Joseph Wood	a p of pinsers	0	1	...	
Catherine Hawkrigg	a pewter Dubler... ...	0	2	...	
Eadem	a pewter Dubler	0	1	...	
Eadem	a pewter Dubler	0	0	1	
Joseph Wood	a hing Lock	0	0	6	
John Preston	2 Gimlocks	0	0	2	½
John Hawkrigg	a nail box	0	0	6	½
Thomas Benson	a Dubler	0	1	3	
Idem	a Dubler	0	1	4	
John Mackreth	a pewter Dubler	0	0	11	
Thomas Benson	a pewter Dubler	0	1	4	
John Grave de Legberthwt	a pewter Dubler	0	1	4	
John Grave	a pewter Dubler	0	1	6	
John Grave de Legberthwt	a pewter Dubler	0	1	3	
John Hawkrigg	a Cradle	0	0	9	
		0	15	11	½
	All amounts to...	12	14	0	

(*Schedule of goods sold* 30 *Jan* 1710. *Buyers over* 10s *to be allowed credit till Martinmas Day next.*)

			lb	s	d	ob
Imprimis John Walker de Goody Bridge, a Blankett		...	0	0	9	
Anthony Harrison	a Blankett ...	...	0	0	7	½
John Mackreth Cryer	a Rugg ...	...	0	0	6	
Idem	a white Rugg ...	...	0	1	2	
John Walker de Goody Bridge	a Happing ...	—	0	1	4	

John

		lb	s	d	ob
John Mackreth	a Boulster	0	0	2	½
John Preston	a Boulster	0	0	4	½
John Mackreth	a chaff bed	0	1	2	
John Preston	a Sack	0	1	4	
		0	7	5	½

John Hawkrigg smith

		lb	s	d	ob
John Hawkrigg smith	a racon-Crook (28) ...	0	1	6	
Idem	a p of Tongs	0	1	2	
Thomas Green	a pewter fflagon	0	1	0	
John Mackreth	a pewter Tanckard ...	0	1	2	
John Preston	a Riddle	0	0	11	
Idem	an iron Pott	0	10	2	
Gawen Bateman de ffornside	a Clock & Case	1	17	8	
James Dawson de Walethwt	a Bay Gelding	5	7	6	
Thomas Green	20 Shocks of oats ...	0	8	2	
James Dawson de Broadrein	20 Shocks of oats ...	0	8	5	
Idem	20 Shocks of oats ...	0	8	7	
John Walker de Goody Bridge	20 Shocks of oats ...	0	8	4	
John Park de Heald	20 Shocks of oats ...	0	8	7	
Robert Herd de Gillside	20 Shocks of oats ...	0	8	9	
	The rem: was 26				
John Park de Heald	All the remainder of the Oats after the rate of 8s 7d p stone & soe proporconably be the same more or less ... ... is		11	1	½
John Preston	20 Shocks of Bigg (29) ...	0	9	6	
John Preston	20 Shocks of Bigg ...	0	9	4	
John Hawkrigge	20 Shocks of Bigg ...	0	10	0	
Idem	20 Shocks of Bigg ...	0	10	0	
	at 10s p score & soe proporconably for the remainder of the Bigg be the same more or less the rem: was 2 ...	0	1	0	
Robert Tompson	20 stone of medow Hay at 1½d p stone ...	0	2	6	
Idem	20 stone of medow Hay at 1½d p stone	0	2	6	
Edwin Green	20 stone of medow Hay at 1d a stone & 6d further at all	0	2	2	
Thomas Green	20 stone of Hay at 1d a stone & 6d further at all	0	2	2	
John Park	20 stone of medow Hay ...	0	2	3	
Thomas Green	40 stone of medow Hay at 1d p stone & 6 futher	0	4	4	
Idem	20 stone of medow Hay ...	0	2	2	
Idem	20 stone of medow Hay ...	0	2	2	
Idem	20 stone of medow Hay ...	0	2	2	
George Walker	a mow of Lea-Hay in the Low-End of Roger Barn	3	1	0	
George Walker	a mow of Lea-Hay Lying o'th scaffolds in the west end o'th Barn	0	15	6	

John

	lib	s	d	ob
John Walker 20 stone of Lea Hay Lying in the stable Loft	0	2	7	
Robert Hird de Townhead 20 stone of Lea Hay at 1½d p stone & 1d further	0	2	7	
John Oatley 20 stone of Lea-Hay at 1½d p stone & 1d further	0	2	7	
John Oatley All the remainder of the Lea-Hay on that mow 1½d p stone & a penny further at every 20 stone be the same more or less				
The remainder was 52 stone amounts to	0	6	8	
John Preston A mow of Hay and Straw in the Barn at home	0	8	0	
	19	3	5	

John Oatley

	lib	s	d	ob
John Oatley 20 stone of Lea-Hay in the Hogg house at 1½d p stone and 9d further at all	0	3	3	
John Jopson 20 stones of Hay	0	3	4	
dem 20 stone of Hay at 1½d p stone and 9d further at all...	0	3	3	
Thomas Green 20 stone of Hay at 2d p stone	0	3	4	
Idem 20 stone of Hay	0	3	4	
And all the remainder at 2d p stone be the same more or less the rem: was 30 stone	0	5	0	
	1	1	6	
This Sale note amounts in all to	20	12	4	½

(*Schedule of goods sold* 8 *March* 1710. *Buyers of Goods over* 10s *in value to be allowed credit till* 11 *Nov next.*)

		lib	s	d	ob
Imprimis John Mackreth	a Tarr kitt (30)	0	0	1	
Idem	a Tarr kitt	0	0	0	½
James Dawson Sen	a Tarr kitt	0	0	1	½
Idem	a Tarr Costrall (31) ...	0	0	1	½
James Dawson de Wythburn	a Tarr Costrall	0	0	4	
Edwin Green de Blind Tarrn Gill	2 Harrows	0	0	1	
Catherine Hawkrigg	a chees-press	0	0	4	
Robert Hawkrigg	a Spinning wheel ...	0	1	7	
Isabell Thompson	a Reeing Siefe (32) ...	0	0	2	½
Eadem	a Ridle	0	0	2	½
William Saurey	a wood Peck	0	0	11	
James Dawson de Wythburn	a Chair	0	0	6	
Edwin Green	a wood Brisset (33) ...	0	1	2	

Thomas

		lib	s	d	ob
Thomas Newton, Ambleside	a p of Gamaces (34) ...	0	3	6	
William Jopson	a chizell & paring iron ...	0	0	3	
Francis Benson de ffold	2 ffell staffs	0	0	2	½
Edwin Green	a Chizell & Backshave (35)	0	0	3	½
Robert Thompson	an Axe and Backshave ...	0	0	6	½
		10	6	4	

Edwin Green

		lib	s	d	ob
Edwin Green	a rake wimble (36) ...	0	0	2	
Francis Benson de ffold	a wimble	0	0	4	½
William Ullock	a fishing pitch (37) ...	0	0	2	
Edwin Green	an Axe	0	0	9	
Idem	a Beef ffork	0	0	3	
Idem	2 iron scures	0	0	2	
Agnes Jackson	an iron scure	0	0	1	½
Eadem	a brass Scumer (38) ...	0	0	3	½
John Williamson	a p of Bed-Stocks ...	0	0	9	½
John Oatley	a p of Bed-Stocks ...	0	1	2	
Dorothy Hawkrigg	a p of Bed-Stocks ...	0	0	6	½
Whoever buy the medow Hay, they are to take it at one end, or Side from Top to the Bottom as agreed before the Sale					
Wm: Fleming p'uxor 10 stone of Hay at 2d p stone & 2d further		0	1	10	
Francis Benson	10 stone at 2d p stone ...	0	1	8	
Idem	10 stone of Hay	0	1	8	
Thomas Newton 20 stone of Hay at 2d p stone & 2d further at all		0	3	6	
Francis Benson 10 stone of Hay at 2d p stone & 1d further at all		0	1	9	
Idem all the remainder of the Hay at 2d p stone the rem: was 15		0	2	6	
Robert Hawkrigg	a Tedder rope	0	0	10	
Catherine Hawkrigg	a Kettle	0	5	0	
Edward Walker	10 stone of Hay	0	1	1	
		1	4	8	
	&	0	10	6	
	is	1	15	2	

	lb	s	d
The totall of all the Sales			
The ffirst Sale amounts to...	52	5	6
The Second Sale amounts to	12	6	10
The Third Sale amounts to	12	14	0

The

	lb	s	d	ob
The ffourth Sale amounts to	20	12	4	½
The ffifth Sale amounts to	01	15	2	
Goods left in the Custody of Catherine Hawkrigg amounts to	02	10	10	
The totall of all amounts to	102	4	8	½

(2 pages are here torn out.)

June the 5th 1712

An Account of the debts that William Hawkrigg late of under-Helm in Grasmere, in the County of Westmorld yeo: was owing at the time of his decease, and the charge of his ffuneral, and other Costs Laid forth by Catherine Hawkrigg his Relict & Executrix and Tutrix to Hannah Hawkrigg his daughter

		lb	s	d
Imprimis to Thomas Satterthwt	a debt	0	12	4
Itm to John Wright	a debt	0	4	4
Itm to Alice Watson	a debt	5	5	0
Itm to John Atkinson	a debt	2	2	4
Itm to Antho: Harrison for Christopher Jackson	... ...	1	4	7
Itm to John Hawkrigg smith	a debt	5	12	4
Itm to Joseph Wood	a debt	0	10	3
Itm to Sr William Fleming	a debt	6	8	0
Itm to Thomas Fleming	a debt	0	2	11
Itm to George Ashburner	a debt	0	0	7
Itm to Edward Hird	a debt	0	0	10
Itm to John Dockrey	a debt	0	0	6
Itm to William Grigg	a debt	0	5	7
Itm Seryants Wages in Arrear ...	... ...	1	0	0
Itm to Edward Walker	a debt	0	1	2
Itm to Henry Jackson & John Partridge	a debt	0	2	0
Itm to Edwd Brathwt	a debt	0	0	4
Itm to Wm: Watson	a debt	0	0	5
Itm to Mrs Elizabeth Bateman	a debt	0	1	0
Itm to Edward Hird	a debt	0	1	0
Itm to Mr William Sawrey	a debt	0	2	6
Itm to Dr Askew	a debt	1	9	0
Itm to Dr Atkinson	a debt	1	0	0
Itm to Dr Elleray	a debt	0	0	6
Itm to Margaret Mackreth	a debt	0	1	6
This amounts to		20	03	00

Itm

	lb	s	d	ob
Itm Laid forth				
To John Mackreth for Boarding, goeing to'th Doctors attendance, & other necessaries in the time of his Sickness	2	2	3	½
Itm money given to the poor, & his ffuneral both at Hawkeshead and Grasmere	6	13	00	
Itm for his Burial in the Quire	0	6	8	

	lb	s	d
Itm to Mr Walker for a ffuneral sermon	0	10	0
Itm Engrossing o'th Will in parchment & 2 Inventaries ...	0	13	0
Itm Probat of Will, Tuicon, & a Mortuary	3	1	1
Itm in Expences upon wittnesses at proving will	0	2	6
Itm to John Mackreth for crying 3 first sales	0	7	6
Itm to Mr Wm: Sawrey for writing 3 first Sale bills 3 days and their several Extracts	0	6	0
Itm to Wm: Fleming for malt at Sales	0	1	0
Itm for tobacco at Sales	0	0	5
Itm to John Mackreth for Crying 2 last Sales	0	4	0
Itm to Mr Wm: Sawrey for writing 2 last Sale bills; and their extracts and some notes	0	4	0
Itm 9 memrds for Sale money	0	1	6
Itm transcribing all the Sale bills	0	2	6
Itm in expences in collecting the Sale money	0	1	0
Itm for drawing up the Accounts	0	1	6
	14	17	11	½
&	20	09	0	
is	35	06	11	½

	lb	s	d	ob
All the Sale bills, & goods left in the Custody of the Executrix amounts to the sum of...	102	4	8	½
From which there's to be deducted the price of a gelding sold to James Dawson	5	7	6	
Itm the price of one stone of wooll to James Dawson more than was actually sold or delivered and some hay charg'd on John Otley which he had not	0	2	7	
is	5	15	1	

Observe	lb	s	d	ob
The Sale notes are...	102	04	08	½
deduct as afore	5	15	1	

Then

	lb	s	d	ob
Then there will remain	96	9	7	½
deduct debts &c	35	6	11	½
rem:	61	2	8	
	96	9	7	½

	lb	s	d
Then to make up this...	61	2	8
Theres in bills & bonds at Sales	43	0	0
She rec'd of Mr Robert Atkinson	01	13	00
And to Receive of James Dawson	03	01	03
The goods she had & bought came to	09	19	0
John Park de nab	00	02	3
lb s d			
Due to the widow 1 12 10 if all was got is	62	15	6

(Further pages have been torn out.)

GLOSSARY.

1. Ob: Oboli.
2. A Lin Shirt: A linen shirt.
3. A Gimer Hogg: A ewe a year old.
4. Chees-Rums & Fatts: Cheese-rums (or rims) and fatts (or vats) were used together in the manufacture of home-made cheeses, and the two together seem to have formed the cheese press, but there is some confusion as to the exact meaning of the terms. In Ash's Dictionary of the English Language (1775) we find "Cheese vat, a wooden case in which the curds are confined to be pressed into cheese," and Halliwell and others explain the term much the same. The Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver, however, writes me that he believes the Cheese-rums or rims to have been circular wooden frameworks of coopered staves, without top or bottom, in which the milk was confined and pressed from above by a heavy weight of wood with a stone on the top of it. This piece of wood Mr. Ellwood believes was the true "vat" or "fatt," which theory, however, hardly seems to agree with the above interpretations of Ash and Halliwell.
5. Mash

5. Mash Ffatt or Vat: A wooden vessel in which the malt was mashed in brewing beer. The vat which contains the malt in brewing.—(Halliwell.)
6. Daw Tub: A dough tub. Daw: dough.—(Halliwell.)
7. A Throwen Chair: A chair in which the balusters and perhaps part of the back were "thrown" or turned on the lathe, in contradistinction to one which was roughly cut or sawn out of wood.
8. A Cole-rake: An iron scraper for farm purposes. The first meaning seems to be á coal rake to rake ashes from the oven. (Halliwell.) Now pronounced variously "cou'-rake," "co'rake," &c. There are other theories as to its derivation as from the word coal, to scrape up.
9. A Hack: A mattock. (Still in use.)
10. A p of Crooks: The crooks were chains ending in hooks which were suspended in the chimney to hang pans on.
11. A p of Hotts: Hotts are horse panniers for carrying peat or manure in.—(Halliwell, &c.)
12. An Iron Team: A team—an ox chain in harness.—(Halliwell.)
13. Tugg & Bands: The tugg was the chain or rope between the plough and swingle tree.
14. A Plow Stick: Query: A stick to clean the plough share. If so, identical with plough puddle (Halliwell), and plu' pattle (Dickinson.)
15. A Gavelock: A crowbar. (Still in use.)
16. Strickle: A sanded piece of wood to sharpen a scythe.
17. A p of Hames: The wooden parts of the horse collar to which are attached the traces; now generally of iron.
18. A Wantyth & Rope: The word wantyth or wanty was generally used for the strap from shaft to shaft of a cart passing under the horse. It was also a leathern girth fastening a horse's pack.
19. Tunnell: A funnel.
20. Scures: Skewers.
21. A Dropping Pan: A dripping pan.
22. Schreenge: Syringe.
23. Plain Stock & Bitt: *i.e.*, plane, stock, and bit, the stock being the wooden part, the bit the iron cutting part of the tool.
24. A fflawing Spade: A spade like the push plough but shorter, used for cutting the top on peat mosses, now called a flaying spade; *c.f.*, flay speadd.—(Dickinson.)
25. 2 Carping Cushions: I am unable to explain these, but Mr. Ellwood has favoured me with the following suggestion:—

"Carping

"Carping Cushions.—I am disposed to think they would be really what were commonly known as carding cushions. These were well known and used for carding wool or flax, being a pair of flat wood boards into which were inserted pieces of wire as teeth, and the wool was placed between these and they were rubbed back and forward to tease or card the wool. The Latin equivalent for this process would be Carpo, Inf. Carpere, Perf. Carpsi Carptum, which Latin verb may have furnished another name for it, namely, *carping* cushions, though generally they were termed carding cushions. They were used in pairs, and the two mentioned in your sale list would doubtless imply a pair."

26. A Happing: A wrap or bed cover. To hap up is still in use.
27. A Pewter Dubler: A Dubler or Doubler is a large dish, more generally of earthenware.
28. A Racon-crook: More generally called ratten crook, the chain which hung from the rannel balk in the kitchen chimney for cooking purposes.
29. Bigg: *i.e.*, barley.
30. A Tarr Kitt: Kit, a large bottle or wooden vessel, or a small tub.
31. A Tarr Costrall: Costrel, a small cask (Ash), a wooden bottle (Halliwell.) The shepherd carried a "tarr costrall" with him to salve the sheep.
32. A Reeing Siefe: A cane sieve to *ree* or riddle corn with, used before the invention of the winnowing machine.
33. A Wood Brisset: I am entirely unable to explain this.
34. Gamaces: Leggings or gaiters.
35. A Backshave: Now called a spokeshave.
36. A Rake Wimble: A wimble or wummle is an augur for drilling holes. A rake wimble presumably one specially used for making holes in the rake head for teeth.
37. A Fishing Pitch: The meaning is doubtful. Pitcher is an obsolete word for a pointed iron bar, which is retained in *pitch fork*, and also in the kindred *pike*. A fishing pitch is therefore probably a sort of gaff. Halliwell gives a pitching net: A large triangular net attached to two poles and used with a boat. This hardly seems the same with the true casting net used still in the East, but I am unaware if either were ever in use in the Lakes. The gaff derivation seems the true one.
38. A Brass Scumer: *i.e.*, a skimmer.

I have to thank Chancellor Ferguson for looking out many of these words for me in Halliwell. I have not, however, thought it necessary to refer to this authority in all cases, in the glossary, as for many of the words I found identical explanations in local glossaries, or got them at first hand from old inhabitants.

ART. XXIII.—*The Homes of the Kirkbys of Kirkby Ireleth.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Read at Kirkby Hall, June 14th, 1894.

THE two old houses of which this paper treats, were both residences of the ancient and knightly family of Kirkby of Kirkby in Furness, or Kirkby Ireleth as it is sometimes called to distinguish it from the numerous other Kirkbys which exist in the North of England. Of the history of this family it is not the place here to enter into detail, for all who are acquainted with the history of Furness must know the part they played in it. Of all the families once dwelling within the peninsula, who, settled on the land from remote antiquity, had received their name from their estates, the Kirkbys alone remained to modern times as residential lords. The Broughtons, the Lowicks, the Urswicks and the Sawreys, their neighbours of the same standing in early days, have long disappeared. But of the Kirkbys the reader of West's "Antiquities of Furness" will find the chronicles of no less than twenty-two generations ending but a hundred years ago, and land was still held within the manor by members of the family at a later date.

The family pedigree commences with a Roger de Kirkby who in the time of Richard I. was Lord of Kirkby and married a daughter of Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz Reinfred. John, one of his sons, was a famous lawyer of the time of Henry III., being at different times a Justice Itinerant, a Judge of the Kings' Bench, Lord Keeper, and a Baron of the Exchequer. He was the author of the "Inquest of Yorkshire," named after him, which was taken in 1284. Among the ensuing generations we find many benefactors of the neighbouring Abbey of Furness, from which institu-

tion

tion indeed the manor was held by the family by knights' service. The seventh Lord, as given by West, was Sir Richard Kirkby, who lived in the reign of Richard II., and the fourth, fifth, and sixth Henrys. He had a younger son, Rowland, who appears in the Lancashire visitations of Flower and St. George, and is styled by West "of Crosshouse." The descendants of this Rowland became extinct in the direct line four generations later, in the time of Henry VIII. Rowland's elder brother Sir Roger Kirkby of Kirkby received seizin of the manor in 9 Henry VI. (1430) and of him we find a younger son named Roger, who, like his uncle Rowland, was of Crosshouse. Henry, the son of this Roger of Crosshouse, married his cousin Anne (or Agnes), who becoming the heiress of the Kirkby estates on the death of her only brother, the whole of the family estates became united and in possession of the descendants of this lady and her husband Henry Kirkby of Crosshouse.* There is every reason to believe that at this time Henry Kirkby added to the Crosshouse and gave it its present form. For not only do the details of the building point to this, but West states that by a deed 11 Hen. VIII. (1519), he settled his estate of the manor of Kirkby and a messuage called Crosshouse to the use of himself and Anne his wife, and Richard his brother.†

In the seventeenth generation of the pedigree as given by West, we find Roger Kirkby of Kirkby aged 12 at St. Georges' Visitation (1613). His eldest son Richard, afterwards Colonel Kirkby, was the relentless persecutor of Margaret Fell and George Fox. A younger son was William Kirkby of Ashlack, who was surveyor general of all her Majesty's Customs in all the Northern ports of

* This Crosshouse is the old building now called Kirkby Hall, and it therefore appears that the original home of the family was elsewhere in the manor. From this date, however, Crosshouse became Kirkby Hall and the manor house.

† There is, however, a genealogical difficulty here which is discussed in the Appendix (which see).

England. This William, who was aged 29 at Dugdale's Visitation (1664-5) married for a first wife Anne daughter of Anthony Locke of the Isle of Wight, and of this couple we have record in an inscription and some architectural features at Ashlack Hall. Beyond this, it is unnecessary to go into the pedigree. The family suffered by its loyalty in the time of Charles I., and the estates became so encumbered that they were never able to be cleared. The manor was mortgaged to a banker in 1719, who being the agent of the Duchess of Buckingham, and becoming bankrupt, the manor passed to that lady in part payment. She left it to Constantine Phipps, Lord Mulgrave, who sold it in 1771 to the Cavendishes, in which family it now is.

An estate, however, remained for several generations in the hands of the descendants of William of Ashlack. It was, however, sold off bit by bit, and as far as I can now learn by enquiries, the ancient stock of Kirkby of Kirkby has at last entirely disappeared from among the landowners of Furness.

KIRKBY HALL OR CROSS HOUSE.

Kirkby Hall is situated on the summit of a gentle eminence at the base of that long range of ling capped fells which form such a conspicuous feature in the landscape on the left hand of the traveller who journeys by train from Foxfield to Barrow. At Broughton-in-Furness about a mile above the former station the river Duddon having coursed through Seathwaite and Dunnerdale enters the broad estuary which forms one of the chief gaps in the outlying fells of the Lake District. The Duddon is crossed by a viaduct just before arriving at Foxfield, and on leaving that station the train makes a straight run of two miles till it reaches a smaller stream called Steers Pool or Kirkby Pool, which drains a small valley nearly parallel with the Duddon, which it eventually joins off Millom. It is near the spot where the railway crosses this

this stream that the old house we are about to describe is situated.

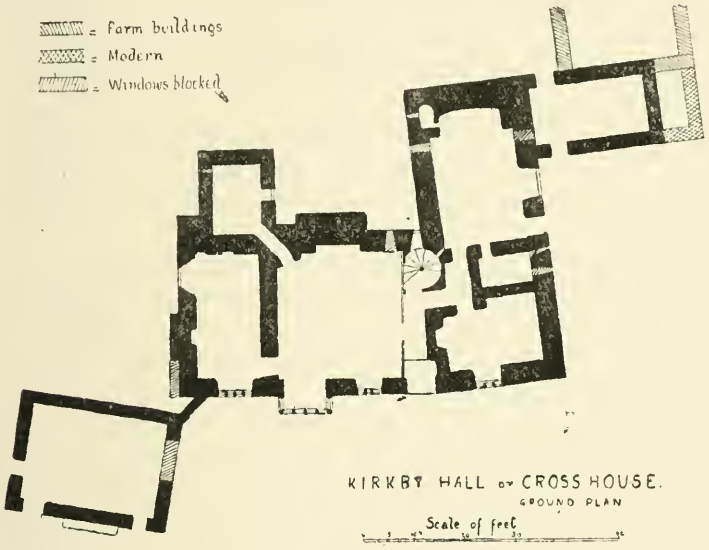
The site of Kirkby Hall is not, perhaps, the typical one for an old manor house. It is neither low, retired, nor particularly romantic in any way. But as the visitor makes his way up the short avenue, shaded with old oaks and other trees, he cannot fail to be at once struck with the massive formality of the old place with its arched door, its low mullioned windows, and its great cylindrical chimney stacks. The whole place looks what it was,—the residence of a family of powerful North Country squires.

Let us examine it in detail. The front we are looking at presents a range about 80 feet in length, broken on the ground floor by four windows, one of which is a bay, and a flat arched door which is the front entrance. The east end of this frontage is set back at an angle from the rest, the reason for which I hope presently to make plain. In the second story there are four other windows of the same character as those on the ground floor. On the spectators' left there is an outlying, squarish building, unconnected with the main block and facing to a different aspect. The main entrance is through a depressed four-centred arch of red sandstone, the quoins of which are splayed externally and bear mouldings. There is no square head or drip moulding above the arch. This door gives entrance to a straight through passage leading to a great newel staircase, and on the left of which partitioned off is the hall measuring up to the partition about 25 feet by 24 feet. The partition appears to be modern, but not improbably replaces an older screen shutting off the passage and kitchen wing from the hall.

It will be noticed that the passage is narrower at the staircase end than at the entrance. This is due to the fact that the west wing is not at right angles with the remainder of the block.

The great hall is a fine apartment lighted by two windows

windows to the front, that at the dais end being a bay thrown out 5½ feet. This bay is not, as is the case often, carried up to the floor above. Another window now blocked has been in the north-east corner. The windows to the front of the house are of the same character all over the house. They are plain square-headed, with drip mouldings and scooped mullions. The lesser window in



the hall has three lights and the bay six. Opposite to these windows is the great hall fireplace about 9 feet wide, crossed by a segmental arch rounded off at the junction with the impost, and with a cavetto at the angle. The details of this hall, with its bay at the dais end, no doubt give us the date of this part of the house, namely, about the beginning of the 16th century.

From the hall a door opens into the chief parlour or withdrawing room, which is now cut across by a partition, but originally was 24 feet long and 12½ feet wide. Its front

front window, of the same character as those of the hall, was of four lights. Another in the west wall has now no dressings and is more widely splayed. From the north-west corner of the hall a diagonal passage, with a door with a hollow chamfer, leads to a small room $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It has been lighted by at least two windows, one only of which (in the north-west corner) retains its dressings. It is a single narrow aperture and is now blocked. This room is now the dairy, and was formerly in all probability the lord's private room. The walls throughout these parts of the building are from 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches in width.

The east wing is carried back to a length of about 69 feet, and contains on the ground floor three rooms and an L shaped passage connecting them with the entrance lobby.

The biggest of these rooms, which since the erection of the hall and west wing has been the kitchen, is a fine apartment 22 feet by $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Its great chimney, 11 feet wide at the north end, is now blocked with modern ranges and cannot be measured as to depth, but it seems to have been at least four feet deep. It has no mouldings. In the west face of this recess a small door opens into a curious closet, or hiding place 5 feet long by 3 feet wide, in the thickness of the wall beside the chimney. A small window, now blocked, has served to light this curious place.* There is also a blocked window in the west wall, and there was formerly a door near the fireplace leading into the added building, which abuts against this corner. Neither the existing door nor window of this kitchen have any dressings, but outside there can be seen in the north-west corner of this wing some red sandstone quoins with a plain round moulding at the angle.

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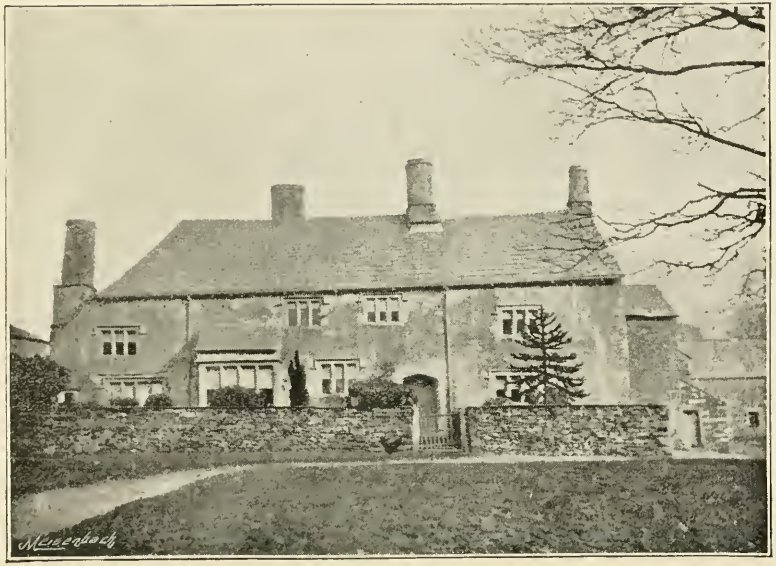
* The room above has also a straight closet about 9 feet long in the thickness of the wall immediately above this.

Besides



KIRKBY HALL.

Besides the small room (now called the coal cellar *) shown in this wing on the plan, there is an irregular shaped room at the front of the house measuring 13½ by 18½ feet, and lighted by a three-light window of the same character as those before mentioned. This was probably the buttery of the reformed house of the time of Henry VIII., that is to say, of the house as we now see it. The walls throughout this wing are four feet thick.

Having now the ground plan of the house before us, we are in a position to understand better its history. We have noticed that the east wing is not set straight with the main block. It seems probable that this wing is the original house almost complete probably of 15th century date, with which period its plan well accords. In this form it may have been erected by Rowland of Crosshouse or by his brother Sir Roger for him, and my opinion is that the hall and west wing were added two generations later by Henry Kirkby of Crosshouse, who eventually succeeded to the lordship of Kirkby by his marriage with his cousin. They were probably built at an irregular angle with the old part in order to front the high road, and to secure a better aspect. The complete plan of the old Crosshouse may have been like what is shown here. The great well staircase which still remains was probably contained in a projection or tower, and the only alterations which were found necessary when the new part was added were the slicing away of part of the west wall to get as good an entrance lobby as possible, and the paring away of two sides of the staircase turret so that they did not project into the hall. The well stair, an

* This has two windows, one high up in the wall and oblique as if to cover the door.

unusual

unusual feature in houses of the date of the newer part, was thus left to do duty for the whole house. The hall of the old house then became the kitchen of the new one, and the old kitchen (of the fireplace of which the recess can be traced) became the "buttery," while the little intermediate room, which was probably the old buttery, perhaps dropped out of any very special function. The building attached to the north end of this older building was of two stories, and was at one time accessible both from the kitchen and room over. It appears, however, to be a later addition. The upper room has a fireplace. Large barns and offices are again attached to this.

The only other feature of the ground plan which requires notice is the outlying building at the south-west. It is now cut up for farm purposes, and is too modernised to make much of. It has, however, a drip-stone of a wide window remaining on its east front of the same character as the others. Its walls are only 2 feet 6 inches in thickness. It is not easy to conjecture its special use now, unless it was for holding the manor courts in.

The well stair, 8 feet in diameter, consists of broad steps of solid oak winding round a very plain wooden newel. It is lighted from the outside and there is, at the completion of its first half turn, a squint or narrow window opening into the old hall (or present kitchen) by which the lord could unseen observe what was going on. The first floor is at different levels because the new hall is loftier than the rooms in the adjoining wings. Near the stair-case head, and over the coal cellar, is a small apartment called the skull room, and some niches are pointed out in the wall in which some human skulls, of which the legend is now forgotten, are said to have formerly stood.

From this passage is entered a bedroom above the room I have suggested was the old kitchen. It contains a depressed four-centre arched fireplace, over which is an ornate plaster panel, once containing among floral ornamentation

mentation of vines and grape clusters, the atchievement of the Kirkbys. The mantling crest and cap of maintenance remain, but the shield (hung cornerwise) and the helmet placed full faced or *affronté* have disappeared, and possibly were made of carved wood. It should be noted that the helmet put thus signifies that the atchievement was that of a knight or baronet. Now the last of the family who held such a title was Sir Roger (knight) who received seizin of Kirkby in 1431, and who I have already suggested may have built this the older part of Crosshouse. I cannot, however, think that the work of this panel is as early as the time of Sir Roger, and I am inclined to think that when Henry Kirkby added to the house he put up this atchievement as a posthumous memorial of his grandfather, and to show who built the older part. Mr. Holme Nicholson, however, suggests that it might be an error of ignorance, copied from some older work about the place. If the shield itself had been extant and had borne quarterings it might have settled the difficulty.

The space above the hall and entrance lobby is now occupied by two rooms and a passage from the stairs. These are divided by partitions now papered and plastered, but probably ancient, as fireplaces exist in both of the rooms. It is said also that some oak paneling formerly covered the partition between the rooms.* The fireplaces in these rooms are of the three-centred form, which is practically a segmental arch, rounded off at the junction with the impost, and all have the usual hollow at the angle. In the corner of this room, above the passage from the hall to the present dairy, was formerly the doorway to the upper floor of the west wing, which contains the chapel. This door is now blocked, and the only means of access to

* Some of the oak carvings taken from Kirkby to Holker perished, it has been suggested, in the fire of 1871. See Tweddell, Furness Past and Present, I. p. 153.

this

this room and that adjoining, is through a trap door in the ceiling of the passage mentioned, or out of the attic above the adjoining bedrooms. The chapel floor is now disused.

The chapel, which is above the withdrawing room, is a fine apartment 26 feet by 14 feet. The floor is now removed, and, in examining it, it is necessary to walk on the joists. It is in two bays, the truss or framing of beams dividing them, consisting of tie beam and king post. Similar trusses fixed against either end of the chapel serve to support the roof. At the south end there is a three-light freestone window of the usual character, and another small window in the west wall lighted the opposite end of the chapel. In the same wall, but near the south end, is a fireplace like those in the rooms over the hall. There are two doors which have been framed with oak, one of which led to the rooms over the hall, as before mentioned, and the other in the north wall leading to a room over what is now the dairy. There is also a curious mural chamber in the west end of this north wall, which now contains a seat, and the use of which is obscure. It may have been appropriated in some way to the accessories of private worship, or, as the wall here has plenty of room, it may be the head of a small blocked newel or private stair from the withdrawing room below.

But the most remarkable feature of this room, if not of the whole place, is the peculiar mural decoration, consisting of panels with birds and animals, and texts and inscriptions, all of which were painted on plaster, and which will not be described here, as they form the subject of a separate paper.

The room behind the chapel is dark and floorless. There does not seem to be any noticeable feature in it.

This chapel has, as the roof shows, originally finished in a gable fronting down the avenue. Within quite modern times, however, it has (probably owing to damp) been

CARVED STONE AT KIRKBY HALL.

CARVED STONE AT KIRKBY HALL.

been re-roofed, so that its western slope is continued straight up till it joins the roof above the hall, thus giving the front of the house an unsightly lop-sided appearance, and much marring the true proportions of the building.

The traditional and doubtless true site of the cross from which the house took the name by which it was formerly generally known, is about forty-six yards straight in front of the main entrance. It is said to have been partly demolished by the order of Archbishop Edwin Sandys. In the yard outside the east wing is to be seen, placed over a water trough, a lion's head rudely carved in free-stone. This has probably been at one time a gargoyle or water spout in some part of the older house. Another curiosity consists in a small square carved stone, standing now on the wall in front of the house. It bears on two of its sides coats of arms. 1st, 2 bars, and on a canton a cross moline, (Kirkby.) 2nd, 6 annulets 3, 2 and 1 (Lowther.) The two shields are joined together at the angle by clasped hands. The third side is inscribed

K
R · A
1639.

and on the fourth we find

I · K R · K E · K
† ° · K A · K AL · K
R ° . K F · K W · K
M · K D · K

These sides show the match between Roger Kirkby and Agnes, daughter of Sir John Lowther, and the initials of five of their sons and six of their daughters.

ROGER

ROGER KIRKBY = AGNES LOWTHER.
b 1601.

RICHARD	ROGER	CHRISTOPHER	JANE	AGNES	FRANCIS	DOROTHY
JOHN	WILLIAM		ELLEN	ALICE	MARGARET	MARY

The first initial in the second line is somewhat faint, but appears to be ↑o. In Baines's History of Lancashire,* it is given ⊦o. As the four sons, John, Richard, Roger, and William are all represented in the inscription, and of the daughters the initials of Jane and Mary are alone omitted, this letter probably stands for Christopher, the fifth son. This stone, which is said to have been found in the farmyard, probably formed at one time part of a sundial.

Since writing the above, an account of Kirkby Hall of some length has appeared in "Furness and Cartmel Notes," by Henry Barber, M.D., just published. The author therein states that the house "originally stood within a quadrangular court, three sides of which consisted of brew-house, barns, stables, slaughter-house, outbuildings, and other offices, the entrance being by a gateway in the south side." What Dr. Barber's authority is for this statement I do not know, for I have never heard any tradition to that effect, nor when planning the hall did I notice anything to lead me to suspect that such had ever been the case. The offices at Kirkby are all in rear of the house.

In the same account Dr. Barber tells us that the floor of the present chapel is not at its original level "because the place is reduced to meanness in size, and the heraldic devices on the side walls representing the arms of the Kirkbys in the various quarterings are nearly divided horizontally by the joists and plaster." With reference to this, I would only ask the reader to examine the photographs of the paintings, which accompany my descriptive paper on that subject, and he will scarcely find any difficulty in deciding if the designs are armorial and if they are cut in two by the floor.

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* IV. 694. In the same work it is stated that "carvings in cement with arms of Kirkby ornament one of the chambers, many of which are wainscoated."

In

In another part of the same account we are told that in the upper apartments are the remains of oak carvings. For these, visitors to Kirkby Hall may search in vain, for they do not exist.

Dr. Barber is further of opinion that the house was "built for defence rather than comfort," and that the bay window to the hall "probably may have been added during the time of the Stuarts." It need scarcely be pointed out that the house has nothing defensive about it, and that the bay window was a characteristic feature in the halls of houses of the time of Henry VIII.

Most of the above statements are also to be found in Tweddell's "Furness, Past and Present," published in 1870, but who is originally responsible for them I am unaware. It is to be regretted that most of these misstatements have just been perpetuated in the North Lonsdale Magazine, Vol. I, No. 3, edited by the Rev. L. R. Ayre, and published at Ulverston.

ASHLACK HALL.

Ashlack Hall is situated something over a mile north-east of the Crosshouse, on higher ground, and nestles snugly in a hollow in a base of the fells, which, rising almost immediately behind the house, extend up to and bound the western margin of Coniston Lake. It has been suggested that the name bears evidence of the existence of one of the numerous old iron smelting forges or "bloomeries," which are known to have existed from early times in Furness. I am, however, informed that there are no heaps of iron scoriæ in the immediate vicinity of the hall, and it appears more probable that the true derivation is the "slack" or hollow among the ash trees. The present tenant (Mr. Irving) informs me that there were within a comparatively short time ago many very fine specimens of this tree here.

The house is of a totally different character to Kirkby Crosshouse. So late as the beginning of the 16th century the old plan of a great hall occupying the centre of the house, jostling the parlours and sitting rooms into comparatively small room, still was much adhered to. But

But a hundred years later a great change had taken place. Houses of this period are more varied in plan, and the size of the sitting rooms is more evenly balanced, while in the larger houses a multiplicity of secondary apartments and parlours is found. Ashlack in its original condition is a fair sample of a smaller house of this period, but alterations at a later date make the original arrangement somewhat difficult to follow in its details.

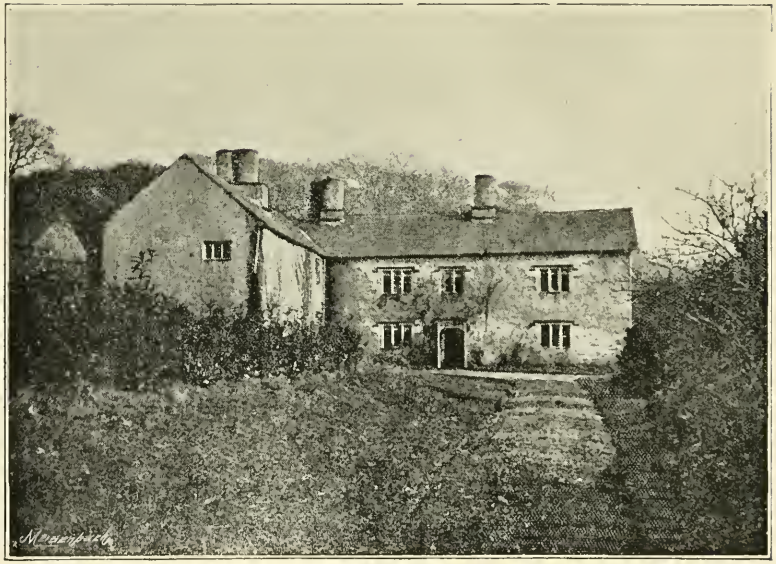
The house as it now stands is cruciform, but the east limb consists of stables and byres, and the top or north limb, which is short and broad, is the result of alterations to the building, which apparently were carried out about the time of Charles II.

The original building is therefore L shaped; the length of the south limb measured to the interior angle being 50½ feet, and that of the west limb 44 feet. All the windows on these two faces, as well as those on the south front of the longer limb, are original, and consist of openings with square heads, plain chamfered mullions, and dripstones coved on the under side. On the inner sides of the L all the windows on the ground floor are of three lights, as are also all those on the upper floor except one above the door in the middle of the south limb, which is of two lights. The south gable has two windows, each of three lights, but the upper one has now no drip moulding.

The original entrance appears to be the one alluded to as in the middle of the south limb. It is a square-headed opening with a drip moulding ending in a square termination, coved like the dripstones. Above is a plaster panel bearing the initials

$$16\ \frac{K}{W \cdot A}\ 67,$$

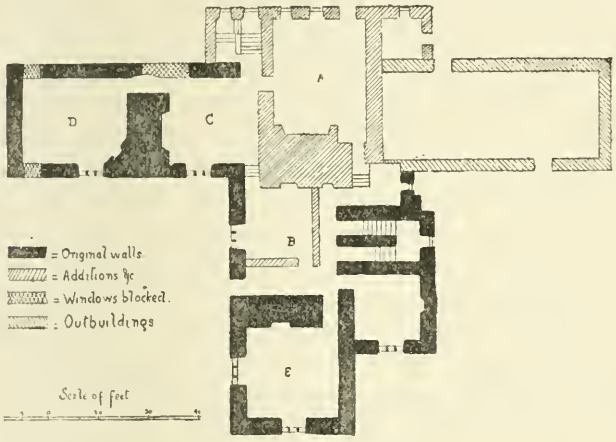
a date considerably later than the architecture of this part



ASHLACK HALL.

part of the house, and put up no doubt by William Kirkby of Ashlack when the additions were made to the back of the house.

To understand the original plan of the house one must first understand the alterations which were made probably in the time of Charles II. These consist of the large kitchen (A) which, with the adjacent staircase, form the



ASHLACK HALL
GROUND PLAN

short north limb of the cross, and the south end of which with its huge wall containing the chimney occupy the centre. The remainder is probably much as it was before, except that the two inner rooms are abridged to a now unknown extent, and one of them (B) is cut up by thin walls. This was probably the hall, entered directly from the garden by the front door and lighted by only one window, and with the stairs leading straight up between two walls on the opposite side. The kitchen was probably the adjacent room marked C in the west wing, and the room terminating this block, and measuring 17 by 21 feet, is called the "stone parlour," and is now the dairy (D). The wall betwixt these two rooms is eight feet thick.

There

There are two other original rooms in the south block. One, terminating it, is a fine room about 18 feet square, separated from the hall by a 6-foot wall. This was probably the withdrawing room. The other was only 13 feet square, and was probably a small parlour. Beneath this room and the stairs are cellars, lit by original two-light mullioned windows.

It appears that William Kirkby considered that a larger kitchen was required, and to gain this object the Hall was sacrificed. A new front, 45 feet long and projecting about 11 feet from the west block, was thrown out to the north, and thus a new kitchen, 20½ feet by 18¼ feet, was formed, and a small chamber containing a new staircase leading out of the old kitchen to the west of it. In doing this an enormous amount of space was lost by the immense 13-foot thick wall which was erected in the centre of the house to carry the great chimney and ovens. There is within this new portion nothing which merits notice except the entrance door pegged with oak studs, the great kitchen chimney, and the staircase, which is characteristic of the period, with its strong balusters of turned oak, and which winds right up to the attics above the second floor.

Externally the projection is finished with a double gable, lit by tall windows with weak wooden mullions and transoms. There are the remains of blocked windows on this side of the west wing which are of this character, but in shape like those on the garden front, shewing that an attempt was made to make this side uniform in character. The additions can be traced by a casual glance at the roof, as they are loftier than the original part. The chimneys are of the usual cylindrical form of the district, adding not a little to the picturesque appearance of the house. In this house they are nearly all double, two joined together. There is one such over the centre of each block, and another over the thick central wall. A single one is over the gable of the small parlour which faces to the east. The

The front door, like that leading to the kitchen, is old, of oak, but studded with iron nails. The walls of the original portion are mostly 2 feet 9 inches in thickness, those of the added part less: but a great amount of room is wasted by the thick walls dividing the rooms in the old as well as the new parts. The house is much modernised inside, and no old fireplaces remain. There is some paneling of the last century left in the large room over the kitchen, which is now divided by partitions.

Ashlack is within the manor of Broughton and was the last possession, at anyrate as a residence, of the Kirkbys. It was bought from them about sixty or seventy years ago, and has passed through the hands of various owners since. Though of less interest than Kirkby Crosshouse, it is externally a very fair example of the residence of a family of smaller gentry of the period.

About a mile south of Kirkby Crosshouse there is an old house called now Low Hall, to distinguish it from Kirkby Hall or Crosshouse, (which is often called High Hall), but which was formerly known by the name of Low Barn. This old house was a farm-house till a few years ago, when a new farm was built close to it, and the old place is now used for lumber and for storing farm implements, etc., in. It is a plain old place, with numerous square-headed windows of two and three lights, somewhat similar in character to those at Ashlack, but the place is too cut up by internal partitions and alterations to see the original plan easily. A stone is fixed in the wall near the front door inscribed

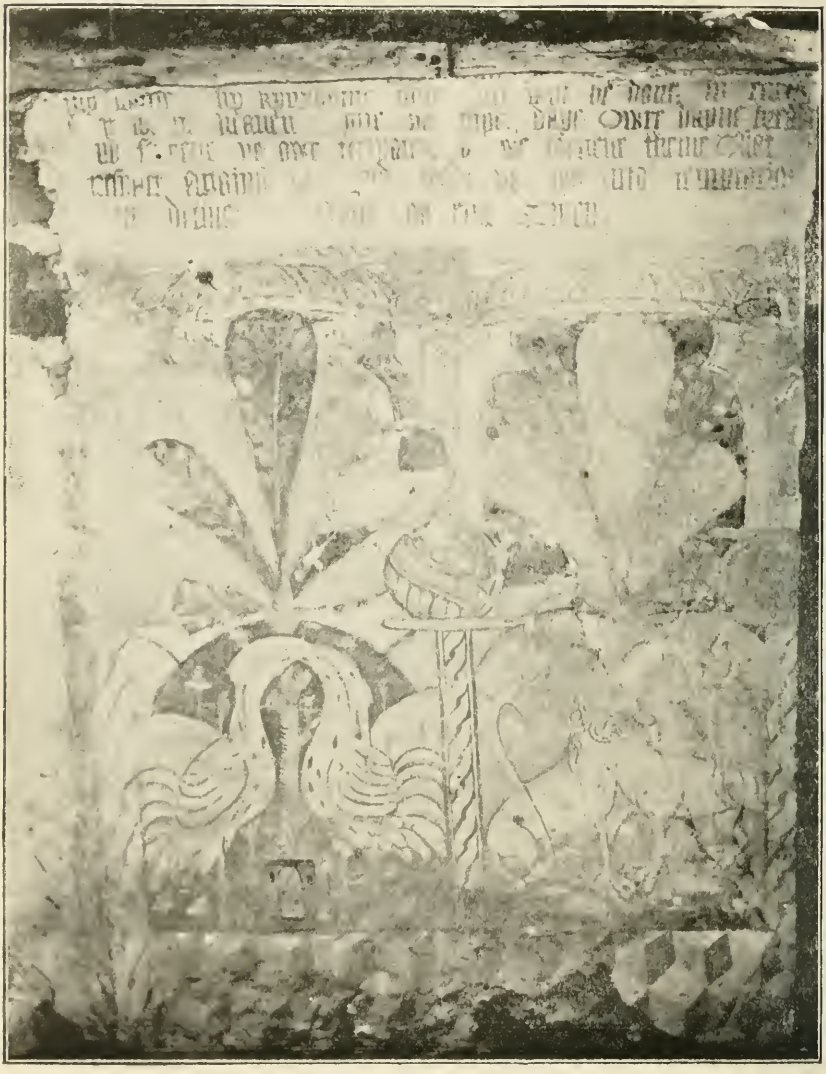
K
R · A
1639

the same initials which are found on the stone at Crosshouse. Another over the adjacent barn door has the same initials and the date 1637, and below, the Kirkby arms, boldly

boldly cut. These dates, no doubt, mark the erection of Low Hall by Roger Kirkby, by whom it must have been built for a junior branch of the family, or else for a farm-house. It is much inferior in size to the Crosshouse or Ashlack.

APPENDIX.

The difficulty alluded to on page 270 is as follows:—Richard Kirkby of Kirkby (died 1546) whose daughter Anne married Henry Kirkby of Crosshouse, had also a son, John Kirkby, who died 5 Ed. VI. (1551) aged 8, and was therefore born in 1543. But Henry Kirkby of Crosshouse, who married his sister, settled his estates of Kirkby manor and Crosshouse to the use of himself, his wife, and brother as early as 1519, and that lady must therefore have been married at least 24 years before her brother's birth. As Richard Kirkby, the father of John and Anne, was married about 1509 (West), it follows that Anne must have been married about 9 years of age, and as her husband Henry was born about 1501, he was then about 18 years of age. Mr. J. Holme Nicholson has suggested to me that John Kirkby was the issue of a second marriage, which is possible, but the difficulty is, that as Richard Kirkby the father was alive till about 1546, how was Henry in possession of the property in 1519? The best explanation seems to be that Richard's wife Dorothy (Fleming) died soon after the birth of Anne, and that Henry Kirkby married her as a child to consolidate the estates. On the birth of John in 1543, by the presumed second marriage, the entailed estate would have to be surrendered, but the early death of that child left matters as they were. It is not impossible, however, that there are some errors in West's dates. The sketch pedigree will explain the difficulty.



WALL PAINTINGS AT KIRKBY HALL.

Art. XXIV.—*Wall Paintings at Kirkby Hall.* By H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.

Read at Kirkby Hall, 14 June, 1894.

THE space of wall between the floor and wall plate in the chapel at Kirkby Hall is about 7 feet, and probably all this space, except where broken by windows, fireplace, and doors, was at one time painted. What remains at the present day is unfortunately very fragmentary. The paintings throughout are on the plaster which covers the rough walling of Silurian stone. The work on the east wall is best preserved. Here we find in the northern bay (Plate No. I.) the Lord's Prayer above, and below two panels. The first contains in the centre a tree trunk, from which spread, palm-like, eight displayed peacock plumes. On either side of the tree below the plumes stand two strange looking birds, with tails like cocks, and with their long necks crossed. Behind them are distant trees, and beneath them what appears to be a house.

The second panel like the first, and like all which are well enough preserved to make anything of, contains the tree of peacock plumes, and beneath it a strange double bodied monster biting with its two reversed heads its two uptwisted tails. The heads of this monster appear jackal like, and are affixed to very long necks, which are joined at the shoulder and encircled by one ornate collar. One of the bodies of this fearful beast is standing and the other seated, and both are four legged.

Coming to the southern bay on the same side (Plate No. II.) we find the Ten Commandments * above, and

* These begin ". . . . . the commandments of God," and the commandments then follow.

The ninth commandment is worded "Thou shalt not bere *no* false wutnesse against thy neighbour."

below

below there are the remains of three panels. In each the peacock plumes tree as before. The first also contains an eared and beaked head (apparently that of a griffin) holding in its beak a horse shoe. Its body is covered with feathers, and at the bottom of the panel can be discerned claws or feet.

The principal object in the next panel is a large pigeon which stands at the foot of the tree. Another bird of smaller dimensions and shaped something like a heron stands on the sinister side of the tree, and stretches its head towards the back of the pigeon. It may be meant to be in the distance, but its head is in front of the tree trunk. In the bottom dexter corner and close in front of the pigeon are three houses, probably meant to be in the distance. In the third panel on this side nothing remains but the plumes.

Each of these panels is contained within a sort of framing consisting of columns surmounted by ornate globe-like capitals, from which spring the two cusps of a trefoil arch, which is cut off by a border which separates it from the Lord's Prayer and Commandments above. The columns however which are ornamented below the capitals with a conventional pattern, are continued through to the border, where they are terminated with large lions' heads. Between the capitals and the lions' heads each of these upper columns are decorated with two or three oblong windows. Below all the panels is a continuous band of a sort of diamond cheque pattern.* This decorated bordering, dividing and enclosing the panels, seems to have been at one time continuous all round the chapel, and uniform, except in the colouring and in the size of the panels, as those in the north bay

* This pattern is most like an imitation in colour of the Norman square billet moulding.

measure

WALL PAINTINGS AT KIRKBY HALL.

measure about 4 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 4 in., while those in the south bay are only 3 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 2 in.

On the south end of the room where the window is, the panels, if they ever existed, are gone. On a level with the other inscriptions is the Creed.

On the west side all is obliterated.

The north end has two doors in it, but faint traces of the panels are visible. Above is a long text much destroyed, but showing parts of 5th chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, verses 16--21 (Plate No. III). Mr. J. R. Dore, of Huddersfield, informs me that the version is that of (Cranmer's) Great Bible of May, 1541, and has kindly supplied me with the unreadable parts of the text from that version. The only difference is in the spelling of some of the words, and in the use of "by" instead of "in" at the beginning of v. 16. This is, however, sufficiently indistinct to be doubtful.*

The inscription commences with a few almost undecipherable words, which however seem to read "The Epistle to the Gala(tians)?" Then follows:

"I saye walcke by (?) the spyrit (and fulfyl not the lust) of the fleshe. For (the fleshe lusteth contrary to the sprete, and the sprete contrary to ye fleshe. These are contrarye one to the other so ye) cannot do whatsoeuer ye woulde. But yf ye be led of ye spyrite then are ye not under ye lawe. The dedes of ye fleche are manfeste whyche are these adultry fornicacion unclennesse wantonnesse worshypping of ymages wytchcraft hatred varyaunce zele wrathe (sedycyon sects) enuivng murdre dronckennes glottonie and soche lyke of the whych I tel (you before as I have told you in tyme past, that they which comyt such things, shal not be inherytoures of the kyngdo of God.)"

The colours used in these paintings are not bright. The peacock plumes being black or slatey blue, with

*Mr. Dore, who has most kindly searched his collection of old versions of the Bible to identify the passage, informs me that the following versions have not been examined: Tyndale, 1525, and Coverdale, 1535.

brick

brick red spots. The lions' heads are brick red, and the cusps of the arches alternately brick red and white. The animals and birds are left the colour of the plaster and the detail of feathers, &c., outlined in black. The inscriptions are in black letter, with some of the capitals in red *

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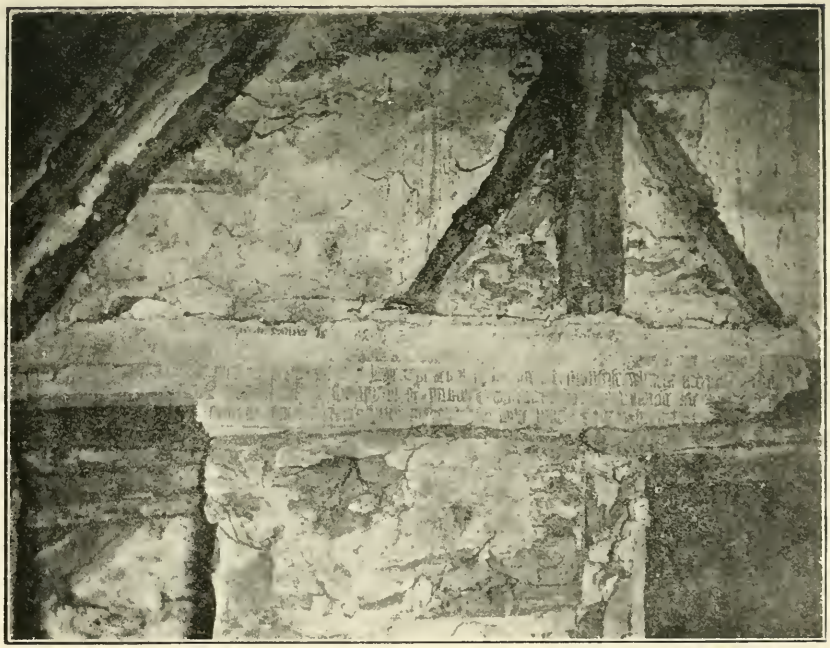
*In Tweddell's "Furness, Past and Present," I. p. 153, it is stated that the chapel floor is not original, "as the decorations upon the walls comprising *the arms of the Kirkbys in their various quarterings*, are divided by joists and plaster." I leave the reader to judge for himself if these frescoes are heraldic. There seems to be reason to suppose the floor level has been altered.



WALL PAINTINGS AT KIRKBY HALL.

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY, JUNE 13th AND 14th, 1894.

THE first meeting and excursion for 1894 of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society was held on Wednesday and Thursday, June 13th and 14th, when part of the Furness district between Cark, Lake Side, Windermere, and Kirkby was visited. The members and their friends met at Ulverston shortly after noon on Wednesday and proceeded to Cark. Amongst those present were the President, Chancellor Ferguson, Carlisle; Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., Yewfield Castle; Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. S. S. Lord, Barrow; Mr. J. H. Braithwaite, Kendal; Mr. Pollitt, Kendal; Mr. John Robinson, C.E., London; Rev. R. G. S. Green, Croglin Rectory; Miss Lucy Beevor, Carlisle; Dr. and Mrs. Beardsley, Grange; Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Aspatria; Mr. S. Marshall, Skelwith Fold; Mr. T. H. and Mrs. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. and Mrs. W. Robinson, Sedbergh; Rev. W. Lowthian, Troutbeck; Rev. G. M. Townley, Grange; Mr. T. Machell, Whitehaven; Rev. L. R. Ayre, Ulverston; Mr. and Mrs. J. Harrison, Newby Bridge; Rev. B. Barnett, Preston Patrick; Miss Ullock and friend; Mr. T. Wilson, (hon. secretary) Kendal; Mr. J. H. Nicholson and party, Wilmslow, Cheshire; Mr. G. Watson, Penrith; Mr. Warden, Sedbergh; Mr. J. W. Weston, Enyeat, Endmoor; Rev. T. Ellwood, Torver, and Mr. W. O. Roper, Lancaster. Subsequently the party was augmented by Col. Hill, Mr. C. J. and the Hon. Mrs. Cropper, Miss Cropper, Mrs. Benson, Hyning; Mrs. Jacob Wakefield, Mrs. Weston, Mr. H. and Miss Alice Jones, Mr. Little and party, Chapel Ridding; Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Argles, Mrs. and Miss Poynting, Arnside; and the Rev. W. Summers, Cartmel Fell.

On the arrival of the party at Cark Hall, Mr. W. O. Roper made the following remarks

ON THE DESCENT OF THE CARK HALL ESTATES.

Our earliest knowledge of the Cark Hall Estate is in the year 1582, when it belonged to Thomas Pickering, who settled Cark Estate on the marriage of his daughter with Robert Curwen, cup bearer to Queen Elizabeth.

Robert

Robert Curwen died in 1649, leaving Cark Estate to his nephew Robert Rawlinson.

Robert Rawlinson, barrister-at-law, was a J.P. for the counties of Lancaster and Chester, and an active magistrate in persecuting the members of the Society of Friends. George Fox relates that in 1663 he was brought before the magistrates at Holker Hall, where he says "was one Rawlinson, a Justice, and one called Sir George Middleton and many more that I did not know, besides old Justice Preston who lived there." After an altercation with Sir George Middleton, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to Fox, who refused to take them, and he was therefore bound over to appear at the Sessions at Lancaster. Fox duly appeared, and amongst the magistrates, he says, was "old Rawlinson, the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against truth and Friends." Fox offended Mr. Rawlinson by not removing his hat on coming into the Court, and entered into a lengthy argument on his reasons for refusing to take the oaths. In the end Fox was committed to prison, where he remained in close confinement more than two years. Robert Rawlinson died in 1665 leaving a son, Curwen Rawlinson, and several other children.

Curwen Rawlinson married in 1677 the daughter of Nicholas Monk, Bishop of Hereford, and niece of General Monk, created Duke of Albemarle by Charles II. Curwen Rawlinson was M.P. for Lancaster, and died in 1689, having devised all his lands to his elder son Monk Rawlinson, who only survived his father about five years. On his death the estates passed to his brother Christopher Rawlinson, who erected a marble monument in the east wall of the south transept of Cartmel Church in memory of his grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, and brother. The epitaph on this monument describes Robert Rawlinson as "that most learned and honest counsellor-at-law . . . whose great integrity joined with a profound knowledge of ye Law made him esteemed and admired by all yt knew him . . . (he was) a great sufferer for his loyalty to King Charles II. . . . he lived beloved of all and so he dyed lamented. . . . he married ye prudent Jane Wilson (of Heversham) by whom he left Curwen Rawlinson (who) was a most accomplished and ingenious gentleman and a true Patriot so succeeded his father in ye service and love of his country and dyed in it in 1689 . . . Next R. R. lyeth ye remains of ye truly pious and religious Elizabeth Rawlinson wife of Curwen Rawlinson Daughter and coheir of ye loyall Dr Nichollas Monk, Lord Bishop of Hereford (a great assistant in ye Restoration to his brother ye most noble George Monk Duke of Albemarle" . . . .) She was a most dutyfull Daughter of ye Church of England as well as of a Prelate of it . . .

Christopher Rawlinson, who erected this monument, claimed through his mother to be the last of the Plantagenets by the mother's side. He was skilled in Saxon and Northern literature, and he published a beautiful edition of King Alfred's Saxon Translation of Boethius. He was a great collector of manuscripts, particularly such as related to the history of Lancashire and Westmorland. He died in 1733 aged 55, having previously ordered his under coffin to be made of heart of oak and to be covered with red leather. At the north end of the north transept of the Abbey Church of St. Albans is a white marble sarcophagus, with a figure of History and an epitaph in memory of Christopher Rawlinson. As he died intestate the estates reverted to the descendants of his aunts, Ann and Catherine, the sisters of his father Curwen Rawlinson, and remained undivided until 1860 when, at the request of Henry Wm. Askew, who had succeeded to a moiety and with the approval of the joint heirs, they were divided under the Enclosure Commissioners who awarded to

Henry

Henry Wm. Askew one moiety—1001 a. 2 r. 18 p.
Henry Fletcher Rigge—2/3 of one moiety—656 a. including Cark Hall and Hampsfield Hall.
Trustees of S. R. Moore—1/3 of one moiety—318 a.*

The building itself will repay examination. The front, in which stands the door, may have been built by Christopher Rawlinson, the other side having been erected half a century earlier.

The arms over the door are those of Christopher Rawlinson.—viz.

Quarterly, First and fourth—Gu. 2 bars gemelles between 3 escallops arg. for Rawlinson.
Second—Arg. frettée gu. a chief az. for Curwen.
Third—Gu. a chevron between 3 lions' heads, erased arg. for Monk.
Crest—a shelldrake proper, in its beak an escallop arg.

Cartmel Church was the next place to be visited, and here Mr. W. O. Roper read the following notes:—

CARTMEL CHURCH.

A church so imposing as that of Cartmel tells to a great extent its own history, but in trespassing upon your time by drawing attention to its principal features, I may perhaps be allowed to supplement the tale which the architectural details of the building tell by a few pieces of documentary evidence. Camden relates that the land of Cartmel with all the Britons in it was granted by Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, to Saint Cuthbert late in the seventh century. And from various deeds of gift to the neighbouring Abbey of Furness being attested in the middle of the 12th century by Parsons of Cartmel, we may conclude there was a church at Cartmel before the foundation of the Priory in 1188. In that year King John, then Earl of Moreton, granted to William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, lands in Cartmel for the purpose of endowing a House of Religion, and accordingly the Earl of Pembroke founded at Cartmel a Priory of Canons Regular of the Order of Saint Augustine, endowing the Priory with all his lands in Cartmel. The Earl directed that the house should be free and released from subjection to any other house and that it should never be made an abbey. This house —continues the foundation charter—have I founded for the increase of holy religion, giving and conceding to it every kind of liberty that the mouth can utter or the heart of man conceive; whosoever therefore shall cause loss or injury to the said house or its immunities may he incur the curse of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of all the other Saints of God, besides my particular malediction.

The history of the Priory follows the usual course—gifts of land flowed in—the town of Kilross in Ireland, the land of Humphreyhead, rights of fishing in the Kent. Indulgences were granted to all who should relieve with their goods the building of the church at Cartmel, and in 1233 Gregory IX. issued a bull "to his beloved children the Prior of St. Mary of Karmel and his brethren present and future professing the religious life for ever," stating that having taken the

* A fuller account of the descent, with wills and other illustrative documents, is given in the *Annales Caermolenses*, pp. 433-639.

Church

Church of the Holy Mother of God the Virgin Mary of Karmel under Papal protection that church should enjoy certain immunities. After ordaining that the Order of St. Augustine should be observed there he confirmed to the Priory its various possessions and granted licence to perform during a general interdict religious service provided it was done in a low voice without ringing of bells, those excommunicated and interdicted being excluded and the doors closed. Power was conferred to prohibit the building of any chapel or oratory within the limits of the parish, and any contravening the provisions of that bull were threatened with the terrors of excommunication.

In 1322 the Scots, in one of their numerous raids into the North of England, marched forward unto Cartmel and, according to the Chronicler, "burnt and spoiled all the countrie about except a priorie of blacke chanons which stood there."

More lands and privileges flowed in upon the priory, but with the fifteenth century the donations almost ceased.

In the visitation of monasteries by Norroy in 1530 the arms of the priory are given as: Per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules.

When the Act passed confiscating to the Crown all the religious houses whose yearly revenue was less than £200, the prior and canons petitioned for a new survey on the ground that a previous valuation varying from £89 to £124 was below the proper sum. Accordingly commissioners were sent down and the prior and canons shewed their possessions to be worth £212 by the year. This income was chiefly derived from rents of land, tithes, and oblations "at the Relyke of the Holy Crosse" preserved in the Priory Church.

In hunting through some old papers at the Record Office some years ago I came across a list of the canons and their servants at the time of this survey: The prior, Richard Preston, wās 41 years old, the sub-prior, James Eskrigge, 36 years of age, and of the eight canons the oldest was 68 and the youngest 25 years. Then came two waiters, two woodleaders, two shepherds and one hunter, a brewer, a baker, a barber, a cook, a scullion, a butler of the fratry, a keeper of the wood, a miller, a fisher, a maltmaker and four other servants, with eight hinds of husbandry.*

The muniments of the priory with the plate and jewels were placed in the "coffer remaining in the treasury of the said house, the same coffer fast lokked with three lokks and the lokks sealyd, the oon key therof remaynyng with the Abbot there and the other two keyes remaynyng with the said Comyssioners." The rest of the effects of the priory were left in the custody of the prior who was compelled to sign a document containing provisions as to the management of the estates, the custody of the plate, and the receiving of rents and tithes, which practically deprived him of any authority in his priory.

Then the hand of the destroyer was laid upon the priory and the lead was being torn off the roof of the church when the parishioners interposed with the objection that the church was a parish church and should be left to them as such. The commissioners wrote up to London for advice on three questions:

Itm for ye Church of Cartmell being the Priorie and alsoe Parish Church—whether to stand unplucked downe or not?

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* For details see the account of Cartmel Church in "The Churches, Castles, and Ancient Halls of North Lancashire," page 57.

Answer:

Answer: Ordered by Mr. Chancellor of the Duchie to stand still.

Itm for a suit of Coopis claymed by ye inhabitants of Cartmell to belonge to ye Church therof ye guift of oon Briggs?

Answer: Ordered that the Parochians have them styll.

Itm for a Chales a Mass Book a Vestyment with other thynges necessarie for a Parish Church claymed by saide Parochians to be customablie found by ye Parson of saide Church?

No answer.

For eighty years the church remained almost roofless, but in 1618 Mr. George Preston, of Holker, repaired the church, and according to the inscription to his memory in the south aisle of the chancel, "he beautified it within very decently with fretted plaister work, adorned the chancell with curious carved wood worke and placed therein a pair of organs of great value."

In 1623 it was ordered that "the bodystead of the church bee decently formed," and in 1626 the present porch was erected and a wall built enclosing the churchyard. Down to the nineteenth century the fine appearance which the interior of the church now presents was marred by a gallery erected across the top of the screen, in which was placed in 1780 a large barrel organ. Across the north transept was another gallery which extended under the first arch of the north aisle of the nave. The pulpit stood against the south-west pillar of the crossing and beside it was a large pew with a canopy belonging to the Biglands of Bigland. The chancel walls were covered with plaster, the triforium had been filled up, and the roofs were of fretted plaster work. The pillars were whitewashed, and the whole church looked bare and glaring.

In 1830 the floor of the church was re-laid, in 1849 and 1850 the plaster ceilings were removed and the whitewash scraped off the pillars. The work of restoration was carried on, the galleries cleared away, the triforium opened, and in 1867 the whole was completed.

The exterior, from the length of the choir and the peculiar position of the tower, presents a striking appearance. The building bears marks of adaptation to the various styles of architecture, the elevation of the transepts shewing distinctly the earlier and perhaps ruder form of the original structure, and the windows in particular indicating the changes which have been made at various times. In the north transept are some of the original windows, all with one exception now blocked up. The east window is, of course, much later. The windows in the south aisle of the chancel known as the Town choir are beautiful specimens of the decorated period, and those in the transepts, nave, and Pyper choir are perpendicular. The principal feature in the exterior is the manner in which the upper part of the tower is placed on the lower, a square placed on a square diagonally to its base.

The interior is lofty. The pillars supporting the tower are Norman (the square abacus being used in the capitals) with pointed arches.

The choir is divided from the aisles by massive round arches, which on the sides fronting the choir are richly carved. Between these arches and the east window there has been on each side a lancet window, but both have been filled up with masonry, that on the south side having been partially re-opened to admit the Harrington tomb. Originally, therefore, the choir projected beyond the side aisles

The triforium arcade, which consists of 22 arches on each side springing from shafts

shafts having the square abacus, has probably crossed the east end between the original lancet windows, traces of which can be seen on the external wall.

The monks' seats are of the perpendicular period, and under the seats—26 in number—are the usual curious devices, including:

South Side.	North Side.
The Trinity (3 faces.)	A lamb at an altar.
A Pelican in her piety.	A hedgehog.
A mermaid with comb and mirror.	Three dogs chasing a hare.
A man standing on a dragon.	An elephant and castle.

The canopies are part of the restoration of the 17th century by George Preston, of Holker, whose arms—arg. 2 bars and a canton gu., the last charged with a cinquefoil or, a crescent for difference,—appear on the south side of the gates into the choir. The stalls are elaborately carved with emblems of our Saviour's passion—the crown of thorns, the sponge filled with vinegar, the hammer and nails, the vesture and the dice, the ear which Peter cut off and the sword he used.

A little stained glass still remains in the east window and much more existed at the commencement of the present century. The old glass, or a considerable part of it, is still preserved in the east window of Bowness Church.

The Parish or Town choir is on the south side of the chancel. The windows are good specimens of early decorated work: their form is somewhat uncommon, for although they contain the usual geometrical figures, their arrangement is peculiar. The mouldings are exceedingly plain and of one order only. In the east window is some stained glass in which may be read the names of several of the descendants of King David. On the north side are two sedilia, the canopies of which are formed of a block of red sandstone.

To the north is the Pyper choir, which still retains its groined roof. The windows here are perpendicular. A flight of six steps leads into the vestry, built in 1678 by a legacy left by William Robinson.

The windows of the transepts present a variety of styles. In the south end are two perpendicular windows, and in the north end a perpendicular above two lancets. The latter are now blocked, but in one of them has been inserted a curious round arch with numerous mouldings.

In the south-east corner of the south transept is a staircase (similar to that in north-west corner of north transept) leading to the roof and communicating with the triforium.

The nave is extremely plain, with windows of the perpendicular period. That at the west end formerly contained effigies of two knights—one bearing the arms of the founder, the other argent frettee sable.

In the ceiling of the crossing are four shields bearing

1. The arms of the founder.
2. The arms of Preston of Holker.
3. The arms of the Province of York.
4. The arms of the Diocese of Carlisle.

The chandelier in the centre was the gift of Margaret Marshall, of Aynsome, in 1734.

The interior of the lower part of the tower shews that from the centre point of each side of the lower, and perhaps earlier, tower, the canons raised four pointed arches,

arches, and on these arches built their upper tower. The bells are four in number, two cast in 1661, one in 1726, and one in 1729.

The monuments are numerous, but few of them are of earlier date than the middle of the 17th century. The principal one is that known as the Harrington monument. On a base of masonry carved with quatrefoils are the recumbent figures of a knight and his lady, the arms on the heater shaped shield of the former being a fret of five points. The shafts rising from the base and supporting the canopy are carved with curious figures. At the foot of the eastern shaft on the north side is a figure of John the Baptist holding in his hands an *Agnus Dei*. Above is a group shewing Mary anointing the feet of our Lord and wiping them with her hair. On the western shaft is a figure holding a long cross, possibly St. Gregory, and behind him is a figure, perhaps of St. Alphege. Above is a representation of the scene when the men who held our Lord blindfolded him and struck him, saying "Prophesy who is it that smote thee." The centre shaft bears three shields, on the uppermost is the fret, as on the knight's shield, and on one of the lower ones the Dacre escallops were formerly painted. At the apex of the arch on each side is a figure being drawn up in a sheet by angels—representing the passage of the soul to heaven. At the foot of the eastern shaft on the south side is St. Catherine with her wheel, and above her the Crucifixion. On the western shaft are figures, perhaps of St. Margaret and St Peter, and an angel with a large trumpet. Above, again, Christ being scourged by the Roman soldiers. Above the cross beam (which bears oak leaves and acorns) are various curious figures, and round the base are carved monks in various postures. Who the figures under tbe canopy represent it is difficult to say. The canons would hardly bave suffered the monument to mutilate their sedilia, and as there is no mention of it in the church bo>ks it seems probable that it was placed in its present position between the dissolution of monasteries in 1537 and 1597 when the records of the twenty-fourty commence. Further, considering the marks of dislocation which the canopy bears and the few remains of bones found inside the base on being opened in 1832, the monument may have been moved from some distance at or after the dissolution. It may have stood in some other part of the priory, but there are suggestions that it came from Furness, from Gleaston Castle, or from Hornby Priory. The distance of these places is a strong objection to such suggestions, and it seems most probable that the monument was moved from some other part of the priory. Then again there is a difference in style between the effigies and the canopy. Further, if the painted shield of arms of Dacre is to be relied upon the canopy may have been part of a monument to Sir Thomas Harrington of Hornby Castle, who married Elizabeth Dacre, and who died from wounds received at Wakefield, or to his son John, killed at the same battle. The effigy of the knight, however, shews him in armour of an earlier date than the Battle of Wakefield.

In the chancel is a slab of grey marble inscribed with a cross and inscription to the memory of William de Walton, Prior of Cartmel. Close to is a stone on which a small cross is carved, and southwards is a stone which bore the inscription: "Hic jacet Wills Br.....quondam P'or."

In the Town choir is the recumbent figure of a canon holding a chalice in his hands. Here also are the monuments of the Prestons and the Lowthers of Holker. There are also stones to the memory of the Barrow, Michaelson, and Roper families. Under the organ is an inscription to the "memory of Agnes Brown, died

died 1795—by adverse storms she suffered much but by the protecting hand of Cavendish she surmounted many evils."

The only other ancient monuments are in the south aisle—one to members of the Rawlinson Family, and referred to in the Notes on Cark Hall, the other bearing the following inscription :—

1600
Here Before lyeth interred
Etheldred Thornburgh corps in dust
In lyfe at death still fyrmely trust
On God to rest hir steadfast trust
Hir father Iustice Carus was
Hir mother Katherine his wiffe
Hir husband William Thornburgh was
Whylst here she ledd this mortail lyff
The thyrde of Martche a year of Grace
One thousand fyve hundred nyntie six
Hir sowle departed this earthly plase
Of Aage nighe fortie yeares a six
To whose sweet soule heavenlye dweling
Our Saviour grant everlasting.

The entry in the Register states that "Mistress Thornburghe wife of Wm. Esquier" was buried on the nineteenth of February 1596, or nearly a fortnight earlier than the date of death recorded in the tablet. Probably as the tablet was not erected until 1600 the date given in the Register is more accurate.

In the vestry are preserved the registers, the church books, and a valuable library of nearly 300 volumes, including copies of Virgil, printed 1509, Bacon's Works, printed 1522, and Spencer's "Faery Queen," printed 1596. These books were bequeathed by Thomas Preston, of Holker, in 1692.

The church books commence in 1597, and are most complete. The registers commence in 1559 and are uninterrupted to the present time, except from 1585 to 1592, and from 1649 to 1652.

An inopportune telegram at this stage called Mr. Roper away, much to the regret of the whole party, and the President took up the duties of guide.

Leaving Cartmel and the instructive guidance of Mr. Roper behind, Hampsfell was kept in view and very shortly the President had an opportunity of describing Hampsfield Hall. As it is described in the title deeds in 1636 as new, the President said they might take it as having been built in the early part of the 17th century. It belonged originally to the Thornburgh family, and was sold in 1636 to Robert Curwen, and thenceforward its owners were the same as those of Cark Hall. The almost circular chimneys are a feature of the district, and inside is an old fireplace still in use, with a charming cosy

cosy ingle nook bearing initials W.I.T., 1687. Much of its attractiveness has been removed by an alteration of the old mullioned windows. The hall stands close to the old road across the fell to Grange. A large artificial mound, behind the house, supposed by some to have been an ancient British dwelling place, is now said to be merely a heap of quarry rubbish.* From this point the drive was very beautiful, an especially lovely view being obtained from the How Top, and the road proceeded through a rough irregular country, passing by

BUCK CRAGG,

where Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, was born in 1703,— a little house crouching in under a hill. Here his father, a preaching schoolmaster, and vicar of Staveley, lived for 49 years. From this country parson was descended a famous posterity, including three Bishops, a Governor-General of India, and a Lord Chancellor.† A further continuation of the journey brought the party to the

FRIENDS' MEETING AT THE "HEIGHT,"

an interesting building, situated by the wayside. Chancellor Ferguson briefly gave its story. This building—in a country sacred to the memory of George Fox—had been erected either by the renowned founder of the Society of Friends, or by the lady who afterwards became his wife, and it was the second earliest ever built for the Society, Swarthmoor being of course the first.‡ It is entered from

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* See these *Transactions*, vol. II., p. xv., for a previous visit of the Society to Hampsfield Hall.

† See W. Jackson, F.S.A., on *The Laws of Buck Crag*. These *Transactions*, vol. II., p. 264.

‡ This statement was made on the authority of the late Mr. W. Jackson, see these Transactions, vol. II., p. xvi., but the following correction has been sent to the Editor:

Burtonleigh, Kenyon, near Manchester,
29/6/94.

I write on behalf of my husband, T. R. Newbold, about the respective dates of the old Friends' Meeting Houses at Height in Cartmel and Swarthmoor; that at Swarthmoor being the younger of the two. It bears date 1688, but Margaret Fox records that the meetings were held at Swarth Hall (Swarthmoor Hall) until the year 1690, so the date 1688 probably represents the actual (Ex dono) or gift of George Fox. The necessary alterations would account for the difference of dates, and no doubt the regular meetings were not transferred till 1690. The meetings of Friends appear to have been held at various places in the district of Cartmel prior to the establishment of a Meeting House at Height, as minutes exist recording meetings held at Allithwaite, Haverthwaite, Powbank, and Cartmel

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the road by an ivy-mantled stone porchway, over which is placed the inscription "Leonard Newton, 1677." The building is perfectly plain and unpretending, whitewashed inside, and with benches of plain unpolished oak, and a simple raised portion for the elders, no "pulpit, drum ecclasiastick" for the itinerant preachers, who when they came to preach were lodged in a room above. "Inaudible and noiseless time" has worked few changes, and still, though rarely, do the successors of those old Puritans worship in their old "meeting" placed high on the hills. The next and in some ways the most interesting of all the places visited was

HODGE HILL,

which, Mr. H. S. Cowper explained, was a fine type of the old Westmorland statesmen's dwellings. It is still kept up in its ancient form by the tenant, Mr. Taylor. It formerly belonged to a certain Philipson, alderman and tanner, who lies buried in Kendal Parish Church, but whether of the Crook or Calgarth Philipsons is unknown. It is now the property of Mr. Birkett, of Birkett Houses. Among the curiosities, attention was directed to a cradle of Christopher Philipson, 1663, a fine old oak kitchen table, a pillion, and the dog gates at the foot of the stairs to keep down the dogs that wandered about in the kitchen. Above the door is an interesting balcony with wooden balusters, giving the house a very picturesque appearance, a house that bears the marks of a happy youth and whose old age is beautiful and free.

CARTMEL FELL CHURCH

was the last place visited. Of its history little is known. In 1604 it was held by an old "malignant," whom, however, it seems that it

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Fell. The earliest of such minutes relates to a monthly meeting held at Newton; it is written in the quaint handwriting of that date and is not easily to be deciphered:—"The 14th of 5 Mo. 1668. att ye monthly meeting of men ffriends at Newton to consider of things relating to church affairs and for ye right ordering of all things according to truth and ye practise of our Brethern in other places." One of the earliest references I can find about Height is the following:—"Att our meeting at Swarthmore ye 12th day of ye 12th month 1678 it was agreed upon as followeth, etc." The first minute of any meeting held a Height that we have is found in some loose minutes:—"Att our meeting at Height ye 26th day of ye 7th month 1682, etc." the first minute of which meeting refers to a previous meeting held there, 10th of 3rd month 1681. On a stone over the entrance to the Meeting House are the initials L. N. Anno Domini 1677, Lawrence Newton having by will, dated 19th of August, 1676, devised certain messuages, &c., for maintenance of poor Quakers, members of the three meetings of Cartmel, Swarthmoor, and Hawkshead, and other purposes.

Yours sincerely,

ELIZABETH NEWBOLD.

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was not worth while to eject. It is dedicated to St. Anthony, probably by the basket makers and charcoal burners who used the hazel trees grown largely there, St. Anthony being the patron saint of such industries. In the east window, which consists of five lights, there is a strange medley of fragmentary portions of coloured windows, which probably came originally from Cartmel Priory Church. Chancellor Ferguson and the late Rev. Thomas Lees have published an account of *The Ancient Glass and Wood Work at St. Anthony's Chapel, Cartmel Fell*, in the second volume of the Transactions of this Society.

After tea at Strawberry Bank, the route was continued over Gummers, or Gunners How, and the party drove to Lakeside Hotel for the night, passing Staveley Church, which it had been arranged to visit. Papers were laid before the Society as follows :—

The Homes of the Kirkbys of Kirkby in Furness. Mr. H. S. Cowper.
A Grasmere Farmer's Sale Schedule in 1710. Mr. H. S. Cowper.
More Local Notices from Privy Council Records. Mr. T. H. Hodgson.
A Tullie and Waugh Pedigree. Mr. H. Wagner.
Local Chap Books. The President.
Kirkoswald, Find of Incense Cup and Beads. The President.
Touching for the King's Evil. Mr. H. Barnes, M.D.
Hardknott. Rev. W. S. Calverley.

At the meeting held in the evening the officers were elected as follows :—

Patrons :—The Right Hon. the Lord Muncaster, F.S.A., Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland; the Right Hon. the Lord Hothfield, Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.

President and Editor :—The Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents :—W. B. Arnison, Esq., E. B. W. Balme, Esq., The Right Rev. the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, The Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle, the Earl of Carlisle, James Cropper, Esq., J. F. Crosthwaite, Esq., F.S.A., H. F. Curwen, Esq., Robt. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A., C. J. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A., G. J. Johnson, Esq., Hon. W. Lowther, W. O. Roper, Esq., and H. P. Senhouse, Esq.

Elected Members of Council :—Rev. R. Bower, M.A., Carlisle; H. Barnes, M.D., Carlisle; Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Aspatria; H. Swainson Cowper, Esq., F.S.A., Hawkshead; J. F. Haswell, M.D.

M.D., Penrith; T. H. Hodgson, Esq., Newby Grange; Rev. Canon Mathews, M.A., Appleby; E. T. Tyson, Esq., Maryport; George Watson, Esq., Penrith; Rev. H. Whitehead, M.A., Lanercost; Robert J. Whitwell, Esq., Kendal; Rev. James Wilson, M.A., Dalston.

Auditors:—James G. Gandy, Esq., Heaves; Frank Wilson, Esq., Kendal.

Treasurer:—W. D. Crewdson, Esq., Helme Lodge, Kendal.

Secretary:—T. Wilson, Esq., Aynam Lodge, Kendal.

The next meeting was fixed for September to be in the Isle of Man.

The following new members were elected, viz:—Mr. J. Cowper, Penrith; Rev. D. Harrison, Cockermouth; Mr. W. G. Strickland, Dublin; Dr. Bowser, Musgrave Hall; Mr. Todd, Harraby; Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., Ambleside; Miss Amy Beevor, Carlisle; Rev. A. Wright, Gilsland; Miss A. F. Walker, Whitehaven; Mr. A. Satterthwaite, Lancaster; Mr. S. Marshall, Skelwith Fold; Mr. W. Rawlinson, Duddon Hall; and Rev. C. H. Lowry, Kirkby Ireleth.

Considerable delay took place in making a start on the second morning owing to a want of punctuality on the part of some members, and further time was lost at Haverthwaite Station in waiting for a train, which was expected to, but did not, bring additions to the party. The first stop was made at Colton Church, of which the vicar, the Rev. A. A. Williams, gave an account. Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., then took the party in charge, and under his guidance they walked and drove to the Stone Circle at Knapperthaw, the Stone Rings Camp near Burney, and the British Settlement on Heathwaite Fell.* The wind on the fells was cold, and the members were pleased to descend into a warmer climate, and visit Kirkby Hall, which was described by Mr. Cowper. Time did not permit the proposed visit to Ashlack Hall, and the meeting practically ended at Kirkby Ireleth Church, which is close to Kirkby Station.

Monday to Friday, September 24-28, 1894.

The second meeting and excursion for the year 1894 of the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society was on a more extended scale than usual, and took the shape of a delightful excursion to the Isle

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*Accounts of these will be found in *The Ancient Settlements, Cemeteries, and Earthworks of Furness*, by H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., printed in *Archæologia*, vol. liii., p. 389.

of

of Man. The party, numbering nearly fifty members of the Society and friends, left Barrow shortly before two o'clock on Monday, September 24th, and had a delightful passage across the Irish Sea in bright sunshine until nearing the Manx coast, when the voyagers began to recall the local legend that the magician Mannanin kept the island to himself by concealing it from the sea under a cloud of mist. The beautiful Bay of Douglas was much admired. The party was landed at the Victoria Pier at about a quarter to six. They were met and cordially welcomed by his Honour Deemster Gill, Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A., honorary secretary to the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, the Rev. S. A. P. Kermode, vicar of Kirk Onchan, and others interested in archæological and antiquarian studies. The visitors included the following:—Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., president; Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Collingwood, Coniston; Mr. James P. Watson, Appleby; Miss Noble and party, Penrith; Mr. G. H. Nelson, Kendal; Mr. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A., Coniston; Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., and Mrs. Calverley, Aspatria; Mr. W. H. R. Kerry, Windermere; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Mr. J. H. Nicholson, Wilmslow; Rev. B. Barnett, Preston Patrick; Miss Gibson, Whelprigg; Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, Sedbergh; Miss Bowstead, Sedbergh; Rev. R. S. G. and Miss Green, Croglin; Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, Kendal; Mr. A. Satterthwaite, Lancaster; Mr. E. T. Tyson, Maryport; Mr. W. G. M. Townley, Grange-over-Sands; Dr. and Mrs. Little, Maryport; Miss Platt, Kirkby Lonsdale; Mr. E. H. Banks, Highmoor, Wigton; Mr. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. James Harrison, Newby Bridge; Mr. George Watson, Penrith; Mr., Mrs. and the Misses Wrigley, Seascale; Mr. Pollitt, Kendal; Mr. T. Wilson (hon. secretary) and Miss Wilson, Aynam Lodge, Kendal, and others.

The Society's headquarters in the island were at the Castle Mona Hotel, an imposing building which stands in the centre of the crescent of Douglas Bay, and was formerly the residence of the Dukes of Athole, "Lords of Man," by whom it was built at a cost of £40,000. After dinner a meeting was held, the President, Chancellor Ferguson, occupying the chair. Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., read an interesting paper on "Manx Names in Cumbria," which will appear in the Transactions.

A brief discussion took place upon the subject of Mr. Collingwood's paper. The President then gave a description of a figure, which had recently been found in or near Old Carlisle, which he believed to be modern.

The following new members (16) were elected:—Mr. R. G. Graham, Beanlands

Beanlands Park, Irthington; the Rev. Samuel Barber, West Newton; Miss Catherine D. Holt, Windermere; Mr. W. W. R. Binning, Carlisle; Mr. Wm. H. R. Kerry, Wheatlands, Windermere; Dr. Mason, Windermere; the Rev. E. P. Kimbley, Staveley Vicarage, Leeds; Miss H. M. Donald, Stanwix; Professor Pelham, Brasenose College, Oxford; Mr. Samuel Taylor, Haverthwaite; Mrs. Frederick Brock-Hollinshead, Crosby Ravensworth; Mr. J. R. Marshall, Keswick; Rev. A. J. Heelis, Borrowdale, Keswick: the Rev. George Rubie, Cartmel; Miss Twentyman, Wigton; and Dr. Manning, Kendal.

The party was early astir on Tuesday morning (the 25th Sept.), and the weather being bright and fine the bay and its surroundings were seen to great advantage. The day's work lay in the southern district of the island, and extended as far as Port St. Mary. The first halt was made at Oatlands in Santon parish to view a stone circle, with cup and ring markings. By an unlucky accident only the first carriage, in which were the guides for the day, Mr. Deemster Gill and Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, got to the right place, the second carriage having taken a wrong turn of the road and led all the rest astray. A re-union was effected at Ballasala where the puzzling ruins of Rushen Abbey were inspected: they are so lumbered up with a modern hotel, stables, coach and cart sheds, a joiners' shop and garden walls as to be unintelligible without a good guide or a good plan, but neither was forthcoming. The tower which puzzles many people seems to have been the Abbot's culver-house or pigeon-house. The next halt was made at Malew church, where the party was received by the vicar, the Rev. S. H. Gill, and under his guidance and that of Mr. P. M. C. Kermode they made their first acquaintance with the Manx crosses, and saw the familiar representation of Sigurd toasting the dragon's heart from the Saga of "Sigurd Fafni's Bane." The Malew pre-Reformation chalice, assigned by experts to c. 1525, was also exhibited.

At Rushen Castle, Castletown, the Society was received by Sir James Gell, the Attorney-General of the island, who, with the assistance of Mr. Keene, the superintendent of the Castle, courteously showed the visitors round the old fortress. Chancellor Ferguson pointed out that the Castle, as it at present exists, was of the Edwardian type of concentric castles, as distinguished from the solid square keep of earlier ages. It appeared, however, that an earlier fortress of smaller size had been in existence. The great thickness of the walls and the strength and solidity of the Castle and its defences were features that attracted notice. The vault under the eastern wall, opened in Governor Loch's time, and the sluice for flooding the moat were examined, as also the apartments formerly occupied by the

the Lords of Man, and the cell eroneously thought to have been the place where the Countess of Derby was imprisoned. Actually she was only living under surveillance in a house within the Castle walls. In the room used as a museum there were several interesting objects, including a bog-oak canoe from Santon, some querns, a cinerary urn, a Roman altar (at once identified by the Cumbrians as having been brought from Maryport)* and a number of plaster casts of Manx crosses. The castle clock, presented by Queen Elizabeth in 1597, was viewed with interest. At the close of the inspection of the Castle, a vote of thanks was cordially passed, on the motion of Chancellor Ferguson, to the Attorney-General and Mr. Keene for their kindness in conducting the visitors around.

From Castletown the members of the Society drove to Ballaquinney, in Rushen, where they were met by Mr. Henry Kelly, who showed them two interesting stones with Ogham inscriptions, which have been read by Professor Rhys. One of the stones was inscribed *Bivaidouas maqi mucoi Cunava*—the stone of Bifaidon, the son of Mucoi Conaf. The larger stone was deciphered as follows:—*Dovaidona maqi Droath*, meaning "The stone of Dovaidon, son of the Druid." These stones were found in graves in an ancient burial mound, close to the road, where both Christian and pagan interments had evidently taken place. Amongst other discoveries made in this mound about 20 years ago, were stone celts, coins of the reigns of Edwy, Edred, and Athelstane, partially burnt bones, and skulls of two distinct types of men. The shape of the graves also indicated both pagan and Christian modes of burial. Within almost living memory there were the ruins of a chapel on this spot. The discoveries in the mound are set forth in a paper on the subject written by Mr. Kelly for the Isle of Man Antiquarian Society.

The party drove home by way of Arbory Church, where an old roof-beam, said to have been given by the Abbot of Rushen, was seen, as well as other objects of interest. The reputed site of Bimaken Friary was pointed out a little further on. The Castle Mona Hotel was reached about a quarter-past seven.

On Wednesday the 26th September, favoured again with capital weather, the excursionists proceeded in carriages on their way to Peel, leaving Douglas at nine o'clock. They called at Kirk Braddan for the purpose of inspecting, under the guidance of the Rev. W. S.

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*This altar is No. 860 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, and No. 371 C.I.L. It is first described by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 183, where it is stated, in March 1725-6, to have been just found at Elenborough upon the river Ehen in Cumberland. See also Kermode's *Manx Crosses*, 2nd edition, p. 56.

Calverley, F.S.A., the runic crosses and other monuments of antiquity in the interesting churchyard. Resuming the carriages, the party drove on to St. John's. On the way the ruins of St. Trinian's Chapel were pointed out. Shortly afterwards St. John's was reached. On the invitation of Deemster Gill the party entered the church; where his Honour explained the order of proceedings of the Tynwald Court, and pointed out the positions occupied by the two legislative bodies, and by the clergy and the officials. He then led the way to the Tynwald Hill, where he made the following speech:—

We stand on a spot as interesting to the antiquary as it is dear to the heart of every Manxman. In it we recognise the pivot round which for well nigh a thousand years has revolved the political life of this diminutive kingdom. Here new laws have been made and old ones declared and explained, grievances disclosed and redressed, differences between litigants adjudicated on and settled, criminals punished or outlawed. Here in the open air for many centuries the inhabitants of this happy Isle have assembled to meet their kings, their governors, their judges, and their lawgivers, and, improving the occasion, they have established here their fair ground, wherein to transact their commercial business. In the construction of this mound we feel a peculiar interest, for tradition tells us that it is composed of soil brought from each of the 17 ancient parishes of the Island. We stand on representative ground. It consists, as you will observe, of four circular platforms, the lowest having a circumference at the bottom of 256 and at the top of 240 feet; the second has a circumference at the bottom of 162 feet; the third of 102 feet; and the topmost of 60 feet. The total height of the mound is about 12 feet. A writer in *Notes and Queries* of February, 1871, traces a symbolical meaning in and gives several interesting results from these figures. I am unable to follow him, but I think it right to point to the existence of these speculations. The hill and the purposes for which it exists are, of course, of Scandinavian origin. The mound is known as the Tynwald Hill, modernised or Anglicised from the Norse *Thing Volla*—Parliament field—of the Middle Ages. There is a striking resemblance between our Tynwald arrangements here and those of the ancient Norse Moot-places, remains of which are to be found in Iceland, in Norway, and elsewhere. Dr. Vigfusson points out some of these. There was always a plain (*voll*)—here we have a plain flanked by rising ground. There was a hillock or mound; here we have this artificial mound constructed for the purpose. There was a Court situate due east of the hill; here we have the Court at the distance of about 140 yards east of the hill. There was a temple—a place of religious worship; here we have a church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, on the site of older churches. There was a path for proceeding from one to the other; here we have such a path. The whole was enclosed by a fence; here an encircling wall exists. When the king sat on the hill, it was with his visage unto the east; the arrangement is the same here, as I shall explain later. All these points of resemblance exist, but there is one essential and vital difference between the institution here and what exists there. There we find only evidence of a life which has long ago become extinct, we find the skeleton from which we may guess what manner of man it supported; here we have the complete body, living and moving and having its being in the same form and to the same extent as it had

had when it was borne hither in the galleys of the Vikings 1,000 years ago. It is remarkable, indeed it is romantic, that this interesting and picturesque institution which, centuries ago, died out in the mother country should have survived in this remote little colony and taken such firm root in a land where it was exotic; that in the midst of so many changes in the neighbouring countries, our home rule should have remained practically unaltered, so that we can boast of possessing the most ancient constitution in Europe. The Danes and Norwegians who occupied this Island for some three-and-a-half centuries, ending about 1264, brought with them here, as to other places conquered by them, their laws and form of government. They established here a kingdom, the territorial limits of which comprised, as well as the Isle of Man, all the islands of the Hebrides which lie south of Ardnamurchan Point. The kingdom was designated "Man, and the Isles," and its king "Rex Manniæ et Insularum." The seat of government was in the Isle of Man, probably at Castletown; and, of the twenty-four free-holders comprising the House of Keys (the representative branch of the Legislature), eight were chosen in the "Out Isles," and sixteen in the "Land of Man." The number of the Keys appears to have been originally fixed at twenty-four, it remained unaltered after the extent of the kingdom was reduced by the separation of the out isles, and it is the same to this day. The Keys were known by the Manx people as the "Kiare-as-feed," the four-and-twenty, and this is probably the origin of the name "Keys." It is, by some, thought to be derived from "Keise," the Norse equivalent of "Chosen," and other suggestions as to the derivation have been made, but none appears quite satisfactory. The Keys were the third Estate in the Manx Constitution, the second Estate consisted of the Council—the Lord's principal officers, including, or having associated with them, the two Deemsters, and the first Estate was the Sovereign or Lord of the Island. The formal designation of the Legislature is "The Governor, Council, Deemsters and Keys in Tynwald assembled." Thus constituted this national Council or *Thing*, in later days known as Tynwald, met from time to time for judicial, legislative, and administrative purposes. For judicial and administrative purposes it appears to have met in other places besides the hill at St. John's, for instance at Castletown, at Reneurling in Kirk Michael, at Kiel Abban in Kirk Braddan, and elsewhere, but it is doubtful whether for the purpose of the promulgation of laws it ever met except at St. John's. It has been suggested, but I think there is little foundation for the suggestion, that Tynwalds, each comprising 12 Keys and one Deemster, met respectively at the South and North of the Island. It is undoubted that very marked differences have existed between the two districts, different laws and customs have existed and still exist in each, and the people speak with a noticeable difference in the intonation of voice. But I cannot find that there was even this splitting of the Tynwald. There is evidence of the Tynwald having sat at Reneurling in 1422, and at Keil Abban in 1429; but I think the Court sat as a whole. Keil Abban is situated as nearly as possible in the centre of the Island. It is exactly equidistant between the Point of Ayre on the north, and the Land of the Calf on the south; and, within half-a-mile, equidistant between the east and west coasts. Whether this placing was the result of accident I do not know. There was a hill, and an ancient church; but the church was not east, but south of the mound. More might be said as to Keil Abban—or Keil Ammon—but time forbids. We must turn to the modern use of the Tynwald Hill. After the Norsemen, the Scots ruled here for over a century; after them, the Earls of Derby were lords. Sir Stanley, second of his line, visited his kingdom and held a

Tynwald

Tynwald in 1414; for his instruction the followiug document was prepared:—"Our Doughtful and Gracious Lord, this is the constitution of old time, the which we have given in our days, how ye should be governed on your Tynwald Day. First, ye shall come thither in your royal array, as a King ought to do, by the prerogatives and royalties of the Lord of Man; and, upon the hill of Tynwald, sit in a chair covered with a royal cloth and cushions, and your visage unto the east, and your sword before you holden with the point upward, your Barons (in the third degree) sitting beside you, and your beneficed men and your Deemsters before you sitting, and your clerks, your knights, esquires, and yeomen about you (in the third degree), and the worthiest of your land to be called in before your Deemsters, if you will ask anything of them, and to hear the Government of your land and your will, and the Commons to stand without the circle of the hill with three clerks in their surplices, &c." This imposing ceremonial in the prescribed form continues to take place here annually on the 5th July (the 24th of June, old style—St. John's Day), and all the laws which have during the year been passed by the Legislature and received the Royal assent are promulgated in English and in Manx to the assembled multitudes. No statute is of any validity until it has thus been promulgated. After it has been passed by all the estates of the Legislature, it lies dormant until it has been proclaimed from the Tynwald Hill.

At the conclusion of the Deemster's interesting exposition, on the motion of Chancellor Ferguson, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him by acclamation. From the Tynwald Hill the Society went to Peel, and there, of course, they explored the picturesque ruins on Peel Hill. The custodian of the building did the honours of the ruins in a truly "popular" style, but the bitter cold wind drove many of the party to the shelter of the Creg Malin Hotel, where lunch was provided.

Kirk Michael was next visited and the crosses there were explained by Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, whose work on Manx Crosses should be in the hands of everyone interested in the subject. One of the crosses here has Runic inscriptions on it, and also an Ogham one and an Ogham alphabet lightly scratched on it, no doubt by the mason for his guidance in cutting the inscription. From Kirk Michael the party drove home through the beautiful pass of Glen Ellen. They were fortunate in escaping a heavy local shower which had evidently fallen in the neighbourhood of Greeba before they reached that place. They arrived at Castle Mona shortly after seven o'clock.

The route on Thursday morning, the 29th September, was by car to Ramsey and back. The first call was made at Kirk Onchan, where several interesting crosses were described by the vicar, the Rev. S. A. P. Kermode—himself a lover of antiquarian lore. Afterwards, the party took the mountain road, and had a most delightful drive over the hills. The weather was charming, and, the atmosphere

phere being clear, they had a fine view from Snaefell over an immense tract of country, reaching from South Barrule to North Barrule. At Sulby, a pause was made for refreshment, and then the party drove on to Ramsey where luncheon was had. An adjournment was then made to the Masonic Lodge Rooms, where the Rev. S. N. Harrison, president of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, welcomed the visitors. Chancellor Ferguson replied on their behalf, and assured the Manx friends present of the pleasure which the visitors had experienced in visiting the various localities and inspecting the numerous objects of antiquity which they had seen during their excursion to the Isle of Man. Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, whose attention to the north country visitors all through was most assiduous, had taken the trouble to collect a large number of drawings of the various crosses in the Island, and after the Chancellor's reply, these drawings were described by Mr. Kermode. After an hour thus agreeably spent, the party left Ramsey and drove to Maughold Church, where there is a fine collection of crosses. Here the Rev. S. N. Harrison took the visitors in charge and explained the several crosses and other objects of antiquarian interest about the church. The party then returned to Douglas, being accompanied part of the way by a waggonette containing several members of the Manx Society. At Castle Mona Hotel dinner was served about half-past eight o'clock, and afterwards a short meeting was held, when cordial votes of thanks were passed to all the friends resident in the Island who had so courteously helped the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society to enjoy their visit to Mona's Isle.

On Friday 28th September the members departed for home by the Barrow boat, though some half-dozen prolonged their stay in the island for a day or two.

ART. XXV.—*Church Bells in Leath Ward. No.* 4. By the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD.

Communicated at the Isle of Man, Sept. 24, 1894.

PENRITH parish church has eight bells; the treble and tenor of which were cast in 1889 by Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, who at the same time recast the fourth bell of the old ring of six.

On each of the other five bells, cast at the Whitechapel foundry, is inscribed

LESTER & PACK LONDON FECIT 1763.

Lester and Pack, who were better bell-founders than Latin scholars,* became partners in 1752, the foundry since 1739 having been held by Lester alone,† foreman and successor to Richard Phelps,‡ whose predecessors were the Bartletts for three generations, and the Carters for two, the elder of whom in 1606 succeeded Robert Mot, the earliest known proprietor of this celebrated foundry.

The names and date in the above inscription impair the accuracy of the following story, which has long been current at Keswick :—

The tradition is that there were three sets of six bells each, cast by Pack and Chapman, for Penrith, Cockermouth, and Keswick—some say there were four sets, adding Workington—and that Dr. Brownrigg, who built Ormathwaite, and was one of the chief residents here, gave £10 10. to the collection, on the condition that Keswick had the first pick of the three, or four sets, as the case may have been, and that this accounts for the Crosthwaite bells being of a sweeter

* On Stanwix church bell, cast in 1779 by Pack and Chapman, occurs the word FECERUNT; which in 1775, when casting the Crosthwaite and other Cumberland bells, they had not yet learned to substitute for FECIT.

† In 1743 Lester recast the Hexham bells.

‡ Founder of the old great bell of St. Paul's (London).

tone

tone than either those at Penrith or those which were destroyed when All Saints church, Cockermouth, was burned down* (*Crosthwaite Parish Magazine*, October, 1882).

Never yet was there a ring of bells which was not regarded by the inhabitants of the parish to which it belonged as the best anywhere known. But Keswick folk must seek some other explanation of the alleged superiority of Crosthwaite bells to those of Penrith. Pack and Chapman did certainly cast the Workington as well as Crosthwaite bells in 1775. In what year they cast the late Cockermouth bells is not exactly known; destroyed bells, like dead men, telling no tales. But Penrith bells, as shewn above, were cast in 1763 by Lester and Pack.

The Whitechapel foundry—which after Lester's death in 1769 was held by Pack and Chapman until 1781, by Chapman & Mears from 1781 to 1783, then by successive members of the Mears family until 1868, since which year the firm has been known as Mears & Stainbank—has supplied many excellent bells to Cumberland churches, *e.g.*, besides those already mentioned, six for Brampton in 1826, six for Thursby in 1846, eight for Cockermouth in 1856, eight for St. Bees and three for Skirwith in 1858, eight for St. Stephen's (Carlisle) in 1864, and numerous single bells of various dates from the Holme Cultram tenor of 1771 down to the Addingham treble of 1893.

The Penrith (Whitechapel) tenor, now No. 7, in addition to the inscription common to the ring, bears the names of the then vicar and churchwardens:

REV. INO COWPER M A
WM. RICHARDSON INO SHARP
THOS SHEPHERD ADAM DIXON

The vicar, Mr. Cowper, was long connected with Penrith,

* Cockermouth church was burnt down in 1849.

having

having in 1729 been appointed master of the Grammar School, the governors of which, on Feb. 25, 1733, as recorded in the school register,

certifye that Mr. John Cowper Master of the said School is a person of Regular Life and Conversation, has very much improv'd the school, and behav'd himself for these five years to our entire satisfaction and aprobation, for which Sr Chr Musgrave has added the chapel of Soulby for his encouragement.

The "encouragement" thus received consisted of a stipend of about £20 (Nicolson and Burn, i, 552), out of which he paid a substitute to perform the duty. There is extant a letter from Dr. Richard Burn of Orton, the historian, to Sir Philip Musgrave, son and successor of Sir Christopher, in which, speaking of the clergy who within his knowledge served the chapel of Soulby, he says that

Mr. Cowper employed Mr. Pindar of Musgrave, who for half-a-crown each Sunday, after having officiated in the afternoon at his own church, travelled thro' thick and thin, in bad road, mostly on foot, and (to use his own expression) thundered them a march *.

From 1743 to 1750, still continuing to reside at Penrith, and retaining his mastership of the Grammar School, Mr. Cowper was rector of Kirkbride; where, as at Soulby, he probably performed his duties by deputy. At all events we catch a glimpse of him during that period himself acting as a clerical deputy elsewhere; for Chancellor Waugh, writing in 1749, in his notes to Bp Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, speaking of Mr. Wilkinson, vicar of Bromfield, who was at the same time vicar of Lazonby, says;—

Mr. Wilkinson resides at Lazonby, where he has built himself a good house . . . but the unhappy man, soon after he finished it, for

* For this information I am indebted to the Rev. W. Lowthian, vicar of Troutbeck, formerly curate of Soulby, who had it from Mr. Bowstead, steward at Edenhall.

want

want of his school,* I think, was moped, and so remains. The schoolmaster of Penrith, Mr. Cowper, supplies the duty. He has no other curate.

In 1750 Mr. Cowper was collated to the vicarage of Penrith ; which, together with the school, he held until his death at the age of 80 in 1788, having been master of the school 59 years.

The weights of the bells of 1763, as given in the following table, are taken from the founders' invoice, or rather from a copy of it in the churchwardens' accounts, which from 1655 to 1801 are contained in what is called "The Old Church Book" :

No.	Note	Diameter	Cwt.	qrs.	lb.
1	D	28½ inches	4	3	9
2	C	30 ,,	5	1	21
3	B	32½ ,,	6	1	14
4	A	34½ ,,	7	0	17
5	G	37½ ,,	8	3	26
6	F	41 ,,	11	3	22

These bells were paid for by a rate of 9d. in the pound, and every item of expenditure for their purchase and hanging is minutely recorded. Lester and Pack's account with the churchwardens was £334 0 11, from which £164 2 4 was deducted in allowance for the old bells. This amount, however, did not include the hanging, which was done by local men, at a cost of £37 1 8, care being evidently taken to distribute the work amongst as many as possible, under the superintendence of Mr. William Porthouse, who seems to have been regarded as an

* Lowther School ; established by the second Lord Lonsdale, "with an ample foundation, for the benefit of all the northern counties ; and, as long as Mr. Wilkinson directed it, never was a school in higher repute" (Hutchinson, ii, 311).

authority

authority on the subject of bells, and on much else besides*. For three years he had charge of the "water engine", bought in 1763-4 "by order of the Vestry"; which duty, afterwards successively performed by John Pattinson and James Mounsey, was in 1780 assigned by the vestry to the bellringers:—

Jan. 1, 1780. At a Vestry meeting held this day it is agreed by the Churchwardens Overseers and principale inhabitants assembled that the underwritten men be appointed ringers for the future & that they are to have the usual Salary viz 15s per annum each man And also that the Ringers be appointed to take care of the Engine to the Satisfaction of Mr. Isaac Pattinson and that they have the yearly salary for the same:—1 John Porthouse; 2 Thos Cockin; 3 Jas Birbeck; 4 Edwd Parcivale; 5 Wm McHenry; 6 Thos Birkett Junr.

When a fire occurred the ringers worked the engine, for which they received extra payment. They also received extra payment, at the rate of 1s. 6d. each per day, on what are called in the churchwardens' accounts "rejoicing days". At the time now under notice (George III) the regulation "rejoicing days" seem to have been: May 29, King Charles' Restoration; June 4, King's birthday; Sept. 22, King's Coronation; Oct. 26, King's Proclamation; Nov. 5, Gunpowder Treason. But when news of some victory arrived there was an extra rejoicing day; for which also the ringers received extra payment. Nor was this all that they received on such days. No year passed without its item of

Ale to the ringers on rejoicing days.

Other persons also enjoyed themselves at the ratepayers'

* Nor was his reputation confined to Penrith, since in 1767 the Crosthwaite churchwardens' accounts have this item: "Mr. Porthouse for the bells £34 7s. 6d." These were the old Crosthwaite bells, which in 1775 were superseded by Pack and Chapman's ring of six. What was done to them in 1767 there is nothing to shew; probably they were then rehung.

expense

expense on these festive occasions. At least that is the inference to be drawn from a constantly recurring item, of which the following is an average specimen :

1765 Spent on rejoicing days £2.

Of specimens exceeding the average the most notable is that supplied by the year which closed the 18th century :

1800* Xmas Day and sundry rejoicings £7 18s. 2d.

There are no such "rejoicings" now at Penrith, and not many such anywhere else. They probably disappeared with the church-rate.

Among the items in the accounts for 1763-4 was this :

To Dawson & Storey for carrying the old Bells to N'castle & bringing the new ones £13 3s 9d.

There is a tradition that these old bells "went to Kirkoswald". It is likely enough that they went there, but not to stay there. They would have to pass through Kirkoswald on their way to Newcastle, thence to be conveyed by sea to London. Doubtless they "went to" the Whitechapel furnace; but not without leaving behind them the materials for a partial recovery of their story. The terrier of the year 1749, signed by "Battie Warsop, Vicar", thus describes them :

Five Bells the least weighing Five hundred weight the Second is six hundred weight and a half the third eight hundred and a half the Fourth ten hundred and a half the biggest weighing twelve hundred weight.

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* In this year (1800) also occurs the following item, which however did not greatly exceed the average annual expenditure for the same purpose in the last decade of the century: "Bread and wine for Sundry Sacrements £8 5s. 6d." The wine, as shewn by the accounts of some other years, cost 2s. per quart, and the annual cost of the bread was about 10d.; from which it appears that in this year the wine provided "for sundry Sacrements" amounted to 77 quarts.

These

These weights do not agree with those allowed for in the invoice of Lester and Pack, who in 1763 took the old bells in part payment for the new. I here place the two estimates side by side:

No.	Terrier		Invoice		
	Cwt.	Qr.	Cwt.	qr.	lb.
1	5	0	3	3	13
2	6	2	4	3	13
3	8	2	6	0	10
4	10	2	7	1	13
5	12	0	9	0	6

Terrier weights are often inaccurate; but, when they are so, they for the most part virtually confess as much, saying that the bells are *about* such and such a weight. The Penrith terrier contains no "about", but speaks with a decision which suggests that whoever drew it up either called in the aid of an expert or had before him some authoritative memorandum on the subject. Nevertheless it is obvious that Lester and Pack, when the bells were taken down in 1763, had better means of ascertaining their weight than anyone could have had in 1749, when they were still hanging in the tower.

A good deal of information concerning them is supplied by the "old church book"; which in the year at which it begins at once introduces them to our notice:

1655 To the ringers in decembr 5s.

During the next two years they appear not to have been rung at all. It was the time of the Commonwealth; and, though the Puritans were by no means universally hostile to church bells, it would seem as if the Presbyterian vicar of Penrith, Roger Baldwin, had no great love for them, and allowed them to fall into disuse, but was perhaps induced by public opinion to allow them to be heard again. Hence in 1658 this item:

To

To ringers of the church as hath formerly been used 5s.

In each of the next two years the ringers receive their 5s at Christmas. But the items for 1661 tell a livelier tale :

	s.	d.
Iron worke for ye Great Bell	4	0
For a bell rope	6	8
To the Ringer for drinke.....	2	0
To W. Burton for iron work for 3 bells and a Key for ye Steeple doore	18	4
To the Ringers	10	0
For drinke when ye bells was amending	2	0
For the ringers	6	0

Clearly an episcopalian revival. The local historians, from Nicolson and Burn down to Walker, all say that old Mr. John Hastie, who had been collated to the vicarage of Penrith in 1600, and ejected by the Long Parliament, was restored in 1660. But this is an error, as is conclusively shown by the parish register :

1659-60 Jan 6—Mr. John Haisty Late vicar of Penrith buried.

All the same Mr. Roger Baldwin had to vacate the living soon after the Restoration, when an Act was passed which deposed all incumbents who had been put into the place of others by the parliament, even if those they superseded had since died. Mr. Baldwin's successor was Mr. Simon Webster, inducted October 25, 1660, to whose appointment may be ascribed the activity we have observed in the belfry in 1661 ; which activity certainly indicates that that the bells had been allowed to get into some disorder, and perhaps had suffered rough usage, during the Commonwealth. But the remedy applied does not seem to have been thorough ; for the tinkering at the bells continues at intervals all the way down to the hanging of the new bells in 1763, the "great bell" especially causing a great deal of trouble and expense. How many of the bells were

were in use at any given time, at least for some years, or what sort of system regulated the ringing, it is not easy to say. The 5s. at Christmas, which, notwithstanding the increased amount given to the ringers in 1661, was all they got in other years down to 1666, looks like a Christmas box, given to men who had no regular salary, and who doubtless did very little work. In 1666 they get 12s. 6d. at Christmas, which they continue to receive at Christmas until 1686, when it rises to 15s. In 1692 it is increased to 22s., and for the first time is mentioned as their "yeare's salary". In 1696, the ringers probably striking for more pay, we meet with this item:

Ye ringers as by agreement by ye parishioners £2.

At which figure the wage stands until 1739, when it rises to £2 10, the reason for the rise being apparent in the following entries:

1738. Paid the *four* ringers for their wages at Christmas £2.
1739. Paid to *five* ringers . . . . . £2 10.

From this it might be supposed that before 1739 there had only been four bells, and that a fifth bell was now added. But, as will presently appear from Bishop Nicolson's notes, one of the bells had long been out of order, and seems now to have been put right. No further alteration of wages occurs until the arrival of the new bells in 1763. But, as in later years, the ringers received extra payment for "rejoicing days"; which however were not much observed in Penrith until the very end of the 17th century, though Mr. Webster, the first post-Restoration vicar, appears to have done his best to encourage their observance. Thus the bells were rung on May 29 and Nov. 5 in 1662; and in the following year the ringing on Coronation day, or at all events the payment for it, is expressly ascribed to the vicar's influence:

Pd

Pd the coronation day to ringers at request of Mr. Webster our Vicker 1s.

What further in this direction Mr. Webster might have instituted, whether he would have anticipated the development of later years, we cannot say, as he did not see that year out, *i.e.*, as vicar of Penrith.* Nor amongst his immediate successors, with one exception, did anyone arise at all equal to the carrying out of the principle which he had laid down. Here we must note the extraordinary rapidity with which these successors came and went. In seven years Penrith had as many as five vicars: Simon Webster, Rt. Fisher, Chas. Carter, Marius d'Assigny, and Joshua Bunting. The seven years covered the whole period of these five vicars. This quick succession of vicars seems to have had a damping effect on the growth of Penrith festivity, and indeed to have checked it altogether, except during the brief incumbency of Mr. Carter, when, in 1665, the bells were rung on the Restoration and Coronation Days, and for "a victory at sea", which must have been the defeat of the Dutch on June 3 in that year. In no other year of the period in question was there any extra ringing at all except on an occasion which cannot exactly be called a festivity:

1668 Paid the ringers att the burall Mr. Rabon son 3s.

Some may be surprised to hear of a peal being rung at a funeral. But such was formerly the prevalent custom, and indeed was in strict accord with the 67th canon of the Church, which directs that "after the party's death (if it so turn out) there shall be rung no more than one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial", the intention being to call upon friends to give thanks for the deliverance of a soul "from the

* He was collated in 1663 to the vicarage of Dufton.

miseries

miseries of this sinful world". The funeral knell, therefore, is a modern innovation; and this entry is only strange as indicating that the peal "at the burall Mr. Rabon son" * was paid for by the churchwardens. The first vicar to break the spell of quick succession was Mr. J. Child, who was instituted in 1688 and died in 1694. But Mr. Child fell on evil times; for in 1671 there occurs a total break in the annals of the parish, lasting three years, during which even the names of the churchwardens are not recorded, the only entry being this:

The plaite was gone & linen belonging ye church in the yeare 1672 in which yeare Allan Mawson was noe churchwarden.

Allan Mawson had been one of the churchwardens in 1670, and this entry in the church book may be regarded as his protest against the idea that he was in any way responsible for the disappearance of the "plaite and linen" How or why it "was gone" there is nothing to shew. Whatever became of it no steps were taken to procure new plate until 1678, when a subscription of £9 1 10 was raised as a "free gift for ye plaite and linen in Penrith Church". We need not, therefore, be surprised that it is not until 1685 that we meet with any indication of public rejoicings during Mr. Child's incumbency. In that year there was ringing on May 29 and Nov. 5; for which, however, the ringers got nothing but drink, 1s. on May 29, and 6d. on Nov. 5. Still a principle was established, or rather re-established, which in the following year expands into "Ale to ringers at severall times 3s"; and in 1688 into "Given the ringers upon publick days to drink 5s", as well as 12s. 6d. in money for "five public days ringing", But 1688, being the year of the Revolution, was of course

* Mr. George Watson informs me that no such name as Rabon occurs in the parish register either in 1668 or in any other year, and he gives good reason for identifying the "Mr. Rabon son" of the church books with "Mr. Edward Robinson" recorded in the register as "buried November 16, 1668".

an

an exceptional year for public rejoicing. During the rest of William's reign the standard of public rejoicing at Penrith was not kept up to this mark. It was reserved for the reign of Queen Anne and the incumbency of Dr. Todd to witness the next decided advance in this matter; and in 1706 we recognise the beginning of a custom which prevailed more or less at Penrith, sometimes to a remarkable degree, during the whole of the 18th century, viz., the burning of "tar barrels at the Cross". Mr. Walker, in his history of Penrith, referring to this practice, says (p.79):

> It was customary during the early part of the last century for the parishioners to assemble round the Cross whenever any great occasion for rejoicing presented itself; and, while there, a quantity of ale was consumed, and a number of tar barrels burnt, which on some occasions were paid for out of the church money.

It would perhaps be nearer the mark to say that on all occasions these proceedings were "paid for out of the church money"; which, being provided by a rate, the parishioners naturally regarded as their own. So far from the drinking of ale on these occasions being confined to the ringers, it would almost seem as if they were at first in danger of not coming in for their fair share, and the vicar had to come to their assistance:

> 1706. Pd to Alexander Hewer for Ale to the Ringers as he says per Dr. Tod's orders as per acquittance 7s.

The victory of Ramillies, the victory before Turin, the raising of the siege of Barcelona, the news of "the happy Union of England and Scotland", the thanksgiving day for the same, and the anniversary of the Queen's accession, were all occasions in this year for "ale at the Cross". Tar barrels seem only to have been burnt for the battle of Ramillies; but in later years they figure more conspicuously. In 1708 we get another new item:

Ale

Ale for Ringers and treating the *Soldiers*
at severall public Rejoyceings 14s.

On the accession of George I there is yet another new departure:

1714 *Wine* att the King's Proclamacon £1 5s.

Which however does not preclude ale on the same occasion:

Ale to the Cross 4th Aug. att the King's Proclamacon 8s.

Ale again at the Cross to same amount "when the King landed", and twice as much the day he was crowned. No doubt the bells rang in the king. But the days when there was extra ringing in this year are not specified. They are grouped in a single comprehensive item:

A shillinge a man p day for seaven days ringinge
by the Order of the Doctor and other gentlemen £1 8 0.

There is nothing, then, to show whether the bells were rung on the following occasion:

1714-5.—Ale at the Cross on January 20
beinge the Generall ffast day . . 10s.

The ensuing year, 1715, was a memorable one in the annals of Penrith, where on November 2 the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed at the Cross as James III by Mr. Forster, the commander of his forces; who, says Mr. Walker (p. 61), "collected the money belonging to the revenue, but in other respects conducted themselves in the most orderly manner, doing no harm either to the inhabitants or their property". All the same when his cause collapsed there was exultation at Penrith:

Nov 14.—Aile to the Cross at newes of the defeate of the
Rebels 6s.; to the Ringers 4s.; Tar Barrels 3s.
Dec 5.—When Stanhop's Horse came thro paid the Ringers 2s.
ffeb 12.—At the Pretenders leaving Scotland, aile
at the Cross 5s.; the ringers that night 2s.

Yet

Yet with inconsistent impartiality, brought out into strong relief by a curious juxtaposition of days, they continue to celebrate Charles II's restoration :

1718.

May 28.—Expenses att night with ye officers . £1 5 6.
May 29.—Expenses that night per bill and receipt made . . . . . £2 18 6.

King George's birthday and King Charles's restoration were in the next year occasions for yet another step in advance :

May 28—Music 12*d.*
May 29—Music 12*d.*

Nor in succeeding years was the music restricted to those two days or to so small an expenditure, but was repeated, at 2s. per day, on every "rejoicing" occasion. What with bell-ringing at the Church, tar barrels, music, and ale at the Cross, the Penrith people of those days were a jovial folk. And so, year after year, the "rejoicings" went on, reaching their climax, as they were bound to do, in 1745, when Penrith, having again undergone the experience of being occupied by an invading army, again had to celebrate the triumph of the king. Mr. Walker, at p. 73, to which page he prefixes the heading "Twelve days' rejoicing", says :

The inhabitants of Penrith had a fortnight's rejoicing after the danger to which they had been exposed was past, as will appear from the following extract from the old church book :

		£	s.	d.
1745.	To expenses in securing church plate in Rebellion	0	10	0
	To ringers, 12 rejoicing days.....	3	0	0
	To expenses in 12 rejoicing days	8	10	0

Hence it would appear that the bells were rung for 12 days in succession; and the item of £8 10 would certainly indicate that the spirits of the people generally had been somewhat elevated.

But

But Mr. Walker, who, by the way, has made the mistake of transcribing 10s. instead of 10d. as the amount paid for securing the church plate, has here fallen into a further mistake through not observing that since the year 1741 the church book had ceased to record the separate items of expenditure for the several rejoicing days during the year, and lumped them altogether. So that the entry relating to "12 rejoicing days" in 1745 does not mean that the bells were rung and ale drunk at the Cross for twelve successive days, but that there were in all twelve public rejoicing days throughout the year; an unusual number, it must be admitted, the regulation number being five. They may have kept up their rejoicing for a day or two when Prince Charles left Penrith behind him on his march northward, after the "skirmish nigh Clifton Moor", and when Carlisle was retaken by the Duke of Cumberland. But there were certainly not twelve successive rejoicing days. In the following year they had eight rejoicing days—for which the ringers got £2, and the other expenses were £4—which again was more than the regulation number. One of the extra three days was no doubt for the battle of Culloden, and another for the arrival of

two large gilt chandeliers, which are still to be seen in the parish church, and which, although rendered useless by the introduction of gas, are daily becoming more interesting as mementoes of the march and retreat of the Highlanders. (Walker, p. 73).

Their arrival and fixing are thus recorded:

		£	s.	d.
1746.	For carriage of chandelears from London.....	3	18	0
	To Wm. Porthouse for putting up chandelers	2	0	0

They tell their own story, each bearing this inscription:

These Chandeliers were purchased wth ye fifty guineas given by the most noble William Duke of Portland to his Tenants of ye Honor of Penrith

Penrith: who under his Grace's encouragement associated in defence of the Government and town of Penrith against the Rebels in 1745.

To the right of this inscription are the Portland arms, on the other side of which the narrative continues thus:

The Rebells after their retreat from Darby were put to flight from Clifton and Penrith by his Royall Highness William Duke of Cumberland after a short skirmish nigh Clifton Moor* which began at 4 in ye afternoon of Wednesday ye 18 Decr 1745 Rebell Prisoners taken by ye Tents of Penrith and ye neighbourhood were upwards of 80.

The impetus given by the suppression of the rebellion to festivity at the Cross did not at once subside; for in 1747 there were nine rejoicing days, with £2 5 for ringing, and £4 11 11 at the Cross. In 1748 it drops to five days, with £1 5 for ringing, and only £1 17 at the Cross. In 1749 it shews a tendency to rise again, viz., seven days, with 22s. for ringing, and £3 4 11 at the Cross. In this year a new vicar is thus welcomed:

Treating the Rev Mr Worsop at his first coming £1 4.

Notwithstanding this cordial welcome his stay was short, for on

Nov. 2, 1750, the Rev Mr John Cowper MA Rector of Kirkbride was collated to the vicarage of Penrith by the Rt Rev the Bishop of Carlisle void by the cession of the Rev Mr Battie Warsop LLB on the 22 of September 1750 (*Parish Register*).

During his brief incumbency the vestry passed the following resolution:

July ye 9th, 1750.—It is hereby agreed yt no Sum or Sums of money expended on ye usual rejoyceing Days be for ye future charg'd on acct of ye Parish except ye expences of ye Bonefire and ye Ringers and ye Ale which shall be then drunk at ye Cross.

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* For full particulars concerning the "skirmish nigh Clifton Moor" see Chancellor Ferguson's paper on "The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmorland in 1745 (*ante*, vol. viii, pp. 186—228).

Yet

Yet it does not appear that there ensued much diminution in the expenses of the rejoicing days, which seem to have gone on at about the same rate as before, and in 1762, which was the last year of the old bells, reached the following amount:

> Eight days—£2 for ringing; Tar barrels, £1 4*s.* 6*d.*;
> Music and ale at Cross £2 17*s.* 6*d.*

Of ale, no doubt, whether at the Cross or elsewhere, the ringers consumed a fair amount; and the writer of a review of the Carlisle Diocesan Church Plate Book, in which some of these entries are given, says:

> We may remark that the ringers at Penrith in the 18th century were by no means wearers of the blue ribbon. The members of that profession have indeed been seldom famous for temperance (*Saturday Review*, Sept. 23, 1882).

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Penrith bellringers of the 18th century were disorderly men. Their rules breathe the very spirit of order:

INTRODUCTION

You ringers all observe these Orders well.

ORDER I

He forfeits sixpence who o'erthrows a bell.

ORDER II

Who'er shall ring with either Spur or Hat
Shall pay his sixpence certainly for that.

ORDER III

In falling bells one penny must be paid
By him who stops before the signal's made.

ORDER IV

Each Peal required for Church-service Divine
Who don't attend must send in proper time
A substitute; sixpence shall be his fine.

ORDER V

ORDER V

A brother knowing and shall absent be
When others ring to catch the pecuny
Of what arises he shall have no share
Except force not choice caus'd absence there.

ORDER VI

Who'er profanely takes God's name in vain
Shall sixpence pay; in future must refrain
From said practice or no ringer remain.

ORDER VII

To cause to cease from wrangling debate
For every Ringer standing obstinate
Against a fairly polled majoritie
Sixpence for each a fixed fine shall be.

ORDER VIII

It is agreed all fines they must be spent
What in, when, where, by major part's consent.

CONCLUSION.

With heart upright each individual ring
For health & peace to Country Church & King.

Bishop Nicolson, when inspecting the bells, on the occasion of his visit to Penrith in 1704, did not omit to notice the clock:

They have also a good clock; which is commonly under such discipline as is usual in Mercate-Towns (Bp. N's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 153).

At what time it was placed in the tower we have no means of knowing; but that it was already there in 1655 appears from the item of "mending a clocke wheele 1s 4d" in the first page of the church book. Its "discipline", prior to 1704, does not seem to have been of a very systematic character. One John Washington, first mentioned in 1664, was called in at intervals to "mend clock and

and chime", or was paid for "work about the clock and chime"; but there is no record of any regular payment to to a caretaker. John Washington, we remark, may have been akin to the ancestors of the illustrious George Washington, whose grandfather John is believed to have sailed from Whitehaven in 1657, and to have been a Cumberland man.* Our John Washington disappears from the church book in 1692, from which year to 1704 there were occasional repairs to "clock & chyme" by nameless persons. In 1704 there occurs this item:

Mending Clock & Chimes & putting all in order relating to them . . . £3 1 6

In 1712 the clock gives place to a successor:

	£	s.	d.
To Aaron Cheasbrough for the new Clock	16	0	0
Lant. Holme for makeing the Clock case and finding wood as per recpt	2	2	6

That the "discipline" of the new clock was more systematic than that of its predecessor may be inferred from the constantly recurring item of "Wm. Browne as usual 12s 6d.", sometimes varied by "Wm. Browne for taking care of clock and chimes". William Browne, sexton and captain of the bell-ringers, had a long innings, his name not disappearing from the accounts till 1748. His "taking care" of the chimes was probably a light duty, as they seem to have fallen into disuse, until Wm. Porthouse took them in hand, repairing them for £7 in 1740. In 1748 Mr. Porthouse mends the clock; the first time the new clock seems to have required mending. In 1755 he mends both clock and chimes. In 1765, two

* On which subject see a paper by Mr. W. S. Harper in vol. v, pp. 98-108, of these Transactions.

years

years after the hanging of the new bells, he supplies new chimes at a cost of £53 2 11. In fact, for a quarter of a century or more, he appears to have reigned supreme over clock, chimes, and bells. Dr. Michael Taylor, F.S.A., speaking at a meeting of the Penrith Literary Society, "said that it was perhaps in the knowledge of many there present that among the lost trades of Penrith was that of clock making; and Mr. Wm. Porthouse was one of the great clock makers at Penrith. At that time Penrith was very celebrated for clocks, and many of these clocks were still in the county. The clocks were of very excellent manufacture, in the old fashioned style, and the business was continued by his son. He thought the last Wm. Porthouse died in Penrith in 1820, and it might interest many to know that the shop in which he lived was in Post Office Lane, very near the shop now occupied by Mrs. Miller" (*Penrith Observer*, Dec. 25, 1883).

But to return to the Bells. Bishop Nicolson says:

In the Tower there are five Bells; whereof the largest seems to be the oldest, haveing only these words *Ora Jesu Maria* twice inscribed upon it. The Second was new cast about 60 years agoe; and has Thomas Stafford (the name of the Bell-founder) and the Initial Letters, as suppos'd, of the names of the then Church Wardens. The Third appears to have been cast in 1639. The Fourth has no Legend on it; but the Fifth has *Exsurgite Mortui et Venite ad Judicium;* and was cast in 1595. This last is either faulty in the Frame or some other way in disorder; For 'tis never rung out, or, at least, has not been so of late years.

It is necessary to notice that the bishop and the terrier, in their numbering of the bells, do not follow the same order, the bishop beginning with the "largest", and the terrier with the "least", as first bell. The right order is that of the terrier, which accordingly will be adopted whenever reference is made in this paper to any particular member of the ring. It will be convenient, however, for avoidance of confusion, to place the two arrangements side

side by side in the following table; the weights in which are as reported by Lester and Pack:

Bp. N.	Terrier	Cwt.	qr.	lb.	Date	Inscription
No. 5	No. 1	3	3	13	1595	*Exsurgite &c.*
,, 4	,, 2	4	3	13		Blank
,, 3	,, 3	6	0	10	1639	?
,, 2	,, 4	7	1	13		T. Stafford
,, 1	,, 5	9	0	9		*Ora Jesu Maria*

The bishop, for an antiquary, is rather loose in his account of these bells, especially of that which he says "was new cast *about* 60 yeares agoe" by T. Stafford, and that which he says "*appears* to have been cast in 1639". In all probability these two bells (Nos. 3 and 4) were cast at the same time and by the same founder. The treble, dated 1595, seems from its legend to have been originally intended to toll the death knell, and was just in time to do a deal of work, as in 1597-8 the northern counties were severely ravaged by the plague.* This was the bell which in 1704 was "some way in disorder", and had "not been rung out of late years". Nor was it again "rung out" until 1739. The bishop showed good judgment in not taking it for granted that it was mute from any fault of its own. Many a sound bell has been condemned as cracked when the only fault was in its gear. The tenor, with its mediæval legend, *Ora Jesu Maria*, was rightly regarded by Bishop Nicolson as the "oldest" bell of the ring; and it is well that he specified

* On a stone slab, now on the inside of the wall of the north aisle, but in the old church in Bishop Nicolson's time "on the outside of the north wall of the vestry", is inscribed

Pestis fuit Ao 1598, unde moriebantur
apud *Kendal* 2,500, *Richmond* 2200,
Penrith, 2266, Karliol 1196.

This cannot mean that 2266 persons died in the *parish* of Penrith, which in 1598 had not more than 2000 inhabitants. It must refer at least to the *deanery* of Penrith, at that time coincident with Leath Ward.

it

it as the "largest", or we should not have known that he inverted the order, and should have supposed that this bell was the treble, instead of the tenor. The regular sequence of the weights of the five bells, and the probability of Nos. 3 and 4 having been cast at the same time, are suggestive of a work done in 1639, the object of which was, by casting, recasting, or tuning, as the case required, to secure a complete and harmonious ring. On which hypothesis I assign the blank bell (No. 2) to no later date than that year. Either it was found in the tower, or placed there, by Thomas Stafford. This founder, if not a native of Penrith, had resided there some years before he did the work now under notice; for at Cartmel there is extant an agreement, dated July 20, 1630, between the churchwardens and "Tho Stafford, of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, bell-founder, for the new castinge of the greate bell of the P'ish Churche of Cartmel" (*Annales Caermoelenses*, p. 61); and the treble of the old Kirkby Stephen ring, as stated by the late vicar (*ante*, iv, 239), bore this inscription:

BE IT KNOWN TO ALL MEN THAT ME SEE
THOMAS STAFFORD OF PENRITH MADE ME.
1631.

In this couplet I at one time thought we had a clue to the authorship of the "Ringers' Orders", which I was disposed to include among the poetical works of Thomas Stafford. But I now know them to be a compilation, taken a bit here and a bit there from similar "Orders". Nor was Stafford the original composer even of the couplet on his Kirkby Stephen bell. The late Mr. T. North, in his "Church Bells of Rutland", says (p. 53):

At the commencement of the seventeenth century the Newcombes began to use the form to which they subsequently as a rule adhered:

Be yt knowne to all that doth me see
That Newcombe of Leicester made mee.

Possibly

Possibly Thomas Stafford served his apprenticeship to the Newcombes. Perhaps, as there is no trace of him, nor of any one of his name, in Penrith parish register, it may be no great stretch of imagination to suppose him to have been a native of Leicester, and a descendant of the earliest known Leicester bell-founder, thus mentioned by Mr. North:

> Johannes de Stafford had, there are good reasons for believing, a foundry at Leicester at least as early as the middle of the fourteenth century (*ib.* p. 48).

So Thomas Stafford may have come from Leicester, bringing with him thence his couplet, and perhaps also the "Ringers' Orders"; for the adoption of which his reform of the Penrith belfry in 1639 was a suitable occasion. Nor was there ever a time when it was more needful to "ring for health and peace to Country, Church, and King". But the ringers, unless they impartially welcomed whatever happened, must soon have been in great perplexity what to ring for. Penrith people were tolerably well affected to the king. But there were times when their town was occupied by parliamentary forces, General Lambert in 1648 making it his headquarters; and if when Charles II passed through Penrith on his way to Worcester, in 1651, "no merry peal from the old church steeple bade him welcome" (Walker, p. 50), it may have been because the then vicar, Roger Baldwin, had no love for Charles. Perhaps, as we have already had occasion to notice, he had no love for the bells themselves. The churchwardens' accounts prior to 1655, had they been extant, would probably have shown that Mr. Hastie's ejectment from the vicarage was at once followed by neglect of the bells. The loss of those early accounts is the more to be regretted, as they would have thrown much light on Stafford's work in 1639, which was an event of some interest in the annals of Penrith. Browne Willis

Willis, writing of Carlisle cathedral tower in 1727, says: "In it hang five bells, the only peal of so great a number in the diocese, except at Penreth" (*Survey of English Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 280). Willis is wrong as to the cathedral, which since 1658 had possessed six bells. But even down to 1775 no parish church in Cumberland had as many as five bells, except Penrith, which meanwhile, in 1763, had got six. The year 1608, in which a fifth bell was added to the cathedral mediæval ring of four, seems to mark the introduction to Cumberland of the change-ringing movement, then in its infancy (*ante*, viii, 135-165). It may have reached Penrith from Carlisle. More likely it came from the south. Perhaps Stafford himself brought the new learning, and, preaching the necessity of Penrith keeping pace with the times, succeeded in making converts of the churchwardens, whose initials he inscribed on the 3rd bell of the reformed ring. But he was unfortunate in the time of his work; which, as we have seen, was destined to be much marred during the Commonwealth.

Must we stop here, or may we endeavour to carry our story still further back? What bell was that which was "new cast" in 1639? Thomas Stafford saw it, consigned it to his furnace, but has left no record of it. But, on hypothesis of its having been a pre-Reformation bell, Edward VI's commissioners must have seen it in 1552. It was their duty to report what they saw, and their report is still preserved at the Record Office. To the Record office, then, we repair, and find—alas, we find the names of half the Cumberland churches torn off, and Penrith among the lost names (*ib.* viii, 186-204). But, though the names of the churches are missing, the lists of their goods remain, and in some cases it is possible to restore a lost name to its surviving list. Thus we at once identify the Greystoke list by its item of "iiij gret belles", which still remain. Only three other churches in Leath Ward

Ward had "*gret* belles" in 1552. All three of them are among the nameless churches; but one of them must certainly be Penrith, which we know had at least one bell, viz., "Jesu Maria", which was great as well as mediæval. The following list, then, which stands next to that of Greystoke, was probably the list of Penrith church goods in 1552:

> Item ij chalesses of silvr with coverings one vestement of white silk ij vestements of bustenge with albes to the same ij vestements for . . . . iiij alterclothes ij gret belles.

One of these bells, if the royal commissioners had strictly carried out their instructions, would have been confiscated "for ye Kinges use"; but, as has been shewn elsewhere (*ante*, vi, 426), the Cumberland church bells seem not to have been molested by Edward VI's commissioners. In the massive tower of Penrith parish church I cannot but think there may at some time or other have been, as at Greystoke, "iiij gret belles". Assuming, however, that this tower once had its ring of at least three, what became of the third? Did Henry VIII's "visitors" take it and sell it for "ye Kinges use"? We know, on the authority of Philip and Mary's commissioners, what Henry's visitors did with one Penrith bell:

> Jeffrey Thomson Stephen Robinson and Anthonie Robinson of Penrithe yomen saythe that Richarde Wasshingstone besydes Kendal bought the layte howse of the ffreers in Penrithe and hadd the bell of the sayde ffreers (*MS in Record Office*).

But Henry VIII, though he despoiled the religious houses and abbeys, did not molest the parish churches. By his treatment of the religious houses, however, he set a bad example, which patrons of livings, churchwardens, and the parishioners generally, in many parts of the country were not slow to imitate, betaking themselves to spoliation of the

the churches on their own account; and in some such way the parish church of Penrith may have lost one and perhaps two of the bells which had hung in its tower—since when? Well, a likely man to have had a hand in providing Penrith church with "gret belles", worthy of its fine tower, was William Strickland, bishop of Carlisle from 1400 to 1419, who gave to the cathedral "QUATUOR MAGNAS CAMPANAS" (Leland, i, 472), one of which, weighing about 17 cwt., still remains as a memorial of his munificence. Camden, in his account of Penrith, says:

> For the benefit of the Town W. Strickland, Bishop of Carlisle, descended from a famous family in these parts, did at his own charge draw hither a Chanel or Water-course, from Peterill, or the little river Peter.

Nor was this his only known benefaction to Penrith. Hutchinson (i, 333) says:

> William de Strickland founded a chantry in this church in honour of St. Andrew with a yearly stipend of £6 to a chantry priest who should teach church music and grammar.

He also added a tower, known as the "Strickland tower", to Penrith Castle. Let us then believe that he was the donor of the church bells, the last survivor of which served as the tenor of the Stafford ring.

Must we stop even here? Surely he must be an unimaginative man who can have spent but a few days in Penrith with never a thought bestowed upon the far distant past, the memory of which still lingers in the tones of the curfew. Common report ascribes the origin of the curfew to William the Conqueror. But in Cumberland we do not recognise William the Conqueror, and refuse to admit that he instituted anything in this county. Yet does not the very name of the "curfew", it may be asked, reveal its Norman origin? Well, even in other parts of England

England the evening bell, whatever may have been its name, was wont to be rung as a signal for the extinction of fires long before the Norman conquest. The late Miss Powley, in her interesting paper on the Curfew (*ante*, vol. iii, pp. 127-133), whilst admitting that "through the Conqueror's edict the practice acquired new authority, and through his language a new name, at least in the south of England", patriotically contends not only that William's edict had no force in Cumberland, but that his language did not here succeed in imposing upon the evening bell the new name of Curfew; which she says is in Cumberland "quite a lately acquired piece of book knowledge". It was "communicated by the late Mrs. Brown that in her childhood the eight o'clock bell was popularly named 't' Taggy bell', and she remembered old persons saying to children that if they were out after it was rung Taggy would get them". Then follows a learned disquisition, some authorities recognising in the word Taggy a corruption of the Danish word "tœkke", which means "cover", and thus connected with "couvre feu" (curfew). But Miss Powley gives in her adhesion to another Danish word, "taage", mist or gloom, and in the warning "Taggy will get you" sees "a simple appeal to the terror of children against the personification of the power that walketh in darkness". Nor was Taggy a terror only to children. "In the early days of the Northmen in England there must have been great distress and discomfort in districts with such a rainfall as ours, with such abundant streams and undrained lands, with their dense fogs, and exaggerated mists, and misleading lights". We recognise, then, a use of the evening bell distinct from its function as the signal for extinction of fires. "From very early times there appears to have been an idea of safety connected with bells. Besides the wide spread superstition of their power against evil spirits . . . they had other claims to regard. There are on record many instances

instances of life having been saved, when benighted travellers, at the sound of the familiar bell, recognised their locality, and regained their home, after being utterly lost amid the swamps and fogs of yore". Such considerations, she concludes, "surely may have some association with or influence on the name of 'Taggy bell', if it is a Danish word . . . and as Bell of the Gloaming, the Mist or the Darkness, it is a more natural as well as a more powerful and poetical term than if it is considered merely as that for the Norman extinguisher". Penrith people, then, would perhaps do well to discard the modern innovation of calling their evening bell the "curfew", and restore to it the traditional name of Taggy, especially as they would thereby be assisting Chancellor Ferguson in his laudable efforts, in which, as he told Mr. Freeman during the visit of the Archæological Institute to Carlisle in 1882, he has been engaged for several years, to keep the name of William the Conqueror out of Cumberland, where when living he never set foot and had no authority. Let not the spirit of William, eight centuries after his death, triumphantly ensconce itself in the tower of Penrith parish church.

But the "knell of parting day", still tolling from eve to eve, as from century to century through bygone ages, whilst taking us back in thought to the remote past, serves also to remind us that the story of Penrith church bells would be incomplete without some reference to their present uses. Each member of the old ring had, and (with one exception) still retains, its distinctive name, indicative of the office it has long discharged. The exception is the old 6th (now 7th) bell, which has been superseded as "death bell" by the new tenor.

2	Town Fire Bell	5	Market Bell
3	Country Fire Bell	6	Curfew
4	Prayer Bell	8	Death Bell

In

In some places all the bells are "jangled" to give alarm of fire. Bishop Hall says: "So when we would signify that the town is on fire we ring confusedly" (*Occasional Meditations* LXXX). But here the 2nd or 3rd bell, according as the fire is in town or country, is rung alone. The late vicar on the occasion of "ringing himself in" is said to have caused consternation by ringing one of the fire bells. Which bell, by the way, ought he to have rung? Probably the "prayer bell", so called from being used for the daily service, and therefore the least likely to cause disturbance when rung unexpectedly. The ancient custom of ringing a bell to announce the opening of the market has now in many places fallen into disuse. Thirteen years ago it was proposed to abolish it at Carlisle; but at a meeting of the town council

Mr. R. S. Ferguson thought the bell should not be abolished. He did not think the market legally began until the bell was rung. There had been such a bell as long as the corporation had existed (*Carlisle Journal*, March 11, 1881).

The custom was therefore retained with only two dissentients. At Carlisle, however, the market is not opened as at Penrith by a church bell. The curfew, rung nightly for about ten minutes at eight o'clock, ending with the requisite number of strokes to indicate the day of the month, is a unique survival, at least in Cumberland. An evening bell at Rocliffe, called the "curfew", is a modern institution. The Carlisle municipal accounts contain items of this kind:

1603 Unto henry Warwicke for curfewe bell xiiis iiij*d*.

But at Carlisle the curfew has long been obsolete. The tenor (No. 8), besides its use as the "death bell", serves also as the clock bell. The death "knell", sometimes erroneously called the "passing bell", is a rarity in this county

county. In Penrith, as in many places further south, it indicates the sex of the deceased by thrice three quickly repeated tolls, called the "tellers", for a man, thrice two for a woman, and thrice one for a child; whence the saying "Nine tailors make a man", a corruption of "Nine tellers mark a man".

It has been, as the reader will have noticed, the practice of the good people of Penrith, at least in post-Reformation times, to wake up once in a century to a sense of the need of putting their bells in order. Nor will the present century be unmarked by an important work of belfry reform, owing to the munificence of the late Miss Harrison, of Lynnwood, at whose cost the following improvements were made in 1889:

Taylor & Co., of Loughborough, to rehang and quarter-turn the bells, with entire new fittings and iron framework	£144
New eight days' clock, by Potts & Sons, of Leeds, of best construction, with all modern improvements .	100
Instead of three hours chimes the Cambridge quarter hour four bell chimes	55
Total cost	£299

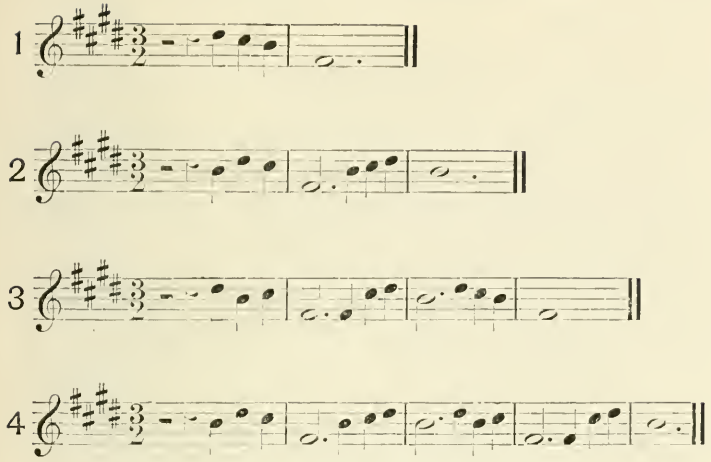
Tradition says that the oak of the old bell-frame came from Brougham Castle. The late Canon Simpson, quoting from Machel, says that "Lord Thomas Tufton pulled down a great portion of the castle in 1691, and in 1719 the timber and lead was sold, and purchased by Mr. Markham and Mr. Anderton of Penrith" (*ante*, i, 70). This brings the oak of Brougham Castle to Penrith. But there is nothing in the churchwardens' accounts to confirm the belief that any of it found its way into the belfry of the parish church; nor anything to shew that the framework was renewed when Mr. Porthouse hung the bells in 1763. In all probability, with such alterations as were

were rendered necessary by the sixth bell, the framework had remained much the same as Thomas Stafford left it in 1639. To say nothing of other defects, it impinged on the walls, an arrangement which has caused serious injury to many a church tower. The ringers' "gallery", so called in the accounts for 1741, when it was erected at a cost of £6 2 6, was unsuitable for the purpose for which it was intended, as it only admitted of the ropes falling in a line. With such an arrangement change-ringing, worthy of the name, was out of the question. To remedy this state of things by enlarging the gallery would still further have spoilt the beauty of the vaulted basement of the tower, already disfigured by such an excrescence. The ringers therefore now use the upper chamber, which formerly contained a cumbrous and complicated chiming apparatus, the superseding of which by the Cambridge chimes allows plenty of room for the ropes to fall in a circle.

These chimes, first used, in 1793, for St. Mary's church, Cambridge, are said to have been composed by Crotch, then a mere lad, who, says Dr. Raven in his book on *Cambridgeshire Church Bells*, pp. 105-6,

> may be credited with the idea of taking a movement in the 5th bar of the opening symphony of that most sublime air of Handel's "I know that my Redeemer liveth", and, by a system of variations, not unworthy of Fabian Stedman, expanding them into the annexed musical chime. . . . Very few, except those who had known Crotch, were aware that he had anything to do with their composition, and till they were copied for the Royal Exchange their merits were but little appreciated. But now they sound from many towers.

They are here subjoined as arranged for the Penrith bells :



The hour is struck on the tenor E.

The parishioners, whilst these alterations were in progress, by a praiseworthy effort, in which nonconformists heartily co-operated with churchmen, raised £220 to complete the octave, and also, owing to change of key by new tenor in E, to recast the old fourth (but now fifth) bell from A♯ to A; and the ring, by the addition of the new treble and tenor, is thus constituted :

No.	Note	Diameter	Cwt	qrs	lbs	Date
1	E	27 inches	4	2	1	1889
2	D♯	28½ ,,	4	3	9	1763
5	C♯	30 ,,	5	1	21	1763
4	B	32½ ,,	6	1	14	1763
5	A	35 ,,	8	1	9	1889
6	G♯	37½ ,,	8	3	26	1763
7	F♯	41½ ,,	11	2	22	1763
8	E	46½ ,,	18	3	6	1889

On the treble is inscribed

ME DEDIT HUIC ÆDI POPULUS : SIT GLORIA PATRI.

On

On the tenor

ME DEDIT HUIC ÆDI POPULUS: SIT PAX, PATER, URBI.

The Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, to whom the work of rehanging, casting, and recasting, was entrusted, are the present representatives of the ancient bell-founders of Leicester. The chief specimens of their work for this county are rings of six at Bridekirk, Cleator Moor, and Great Salkeld, a ring of eight at Silloth, and Mr. Edwin Banks' great bell at Highmoor, weighing $8\frac{1}{5}$ tons, and only exceeded in magnitude by three other English bells, viz.: the new Great Paul, $16\frac{7}{10}$ tons, cast by J. Taylor in 1882; Big Ben, $13\frac{1}{2}$ tons, by G. Mears in 1857; and Peter of York, $10\frac{3}{4}$ tons, by C. & G. Mears in 1845.

Correction, p. 311, line 25, for "1893" read "1888".

ART. XXVI.—*On Touching for the King's Evil.* By HENRY BARNES, M.D., F.R.S.E.

Read at Lakeside, Windermere, June 13, 1894.

THE miraculous healing of some diseases has attracted a good deal of attention, and the records go back to a very early period. It is not necessary to enter into a discussion of those which took place at such a remote period that the evidence of their authenticity is open to question, but if we take those only which occurred during the first three centuries of the Christian era, we find much difference of opinion, especially as to the period when the miraculous gifts of the Apostolic age ceased to operate. Some of the best informed writers have divided miracles of healing into four distinct classes or periods. The first contains those which are related in the New Testament and reaches to about A.D. 70. Of these there can be no doubt among Christians. The next period may be of 37 years and ends about A.D. 107. There is reason to think that some miracles were performed by those who preached and planted the Gospel in pagan countries. The third reaches from A.D. 107 to the time of Constantine, and the last is from Constantine to when you please, and abounds in miracles. From the third century to Gregory the Great (540-604) there are many scattered cases of healing. Such are recorded in the fourth century by Athanasius, Ambrose, Chrysostom and Augustine; in the fifth by Hilary and Jerome; and in the sixth by Gregory the Great, Augustine of Canterbury, and Cyril. During the middle ages the use of charms and amulets, idols and relics, and various superstitious practices too numerous to mention were widely accepted as articles of faith by a large proportion of the people. Even in the present day it is not unusual to find people who believe in charms. Only about two years

years ago a patient came to me from a remote village on the shores of the Solway with some disfigurement of the face which had persisted in spite of a charm which had been used and which was supposed to be infallible. We frequently read of the doings of people who place their reliance on most extraordinary remedies. Underlying all these impostures, wheher they be ancient or modern, there is generally to be found an element of faith. Sometimes the cures have been obtained by faith in the personal power of an individual, or it may be in the magnetic influence of a man, and at others we find that they have been effected by faith in medical remedies or in appliances wholly ineffectual or inadequate in themselves.

Among the inhabitants of the mixed races settled in this country one of the most common and distressing diseases was scrofula. It was a perfect scourge in the country, and still continues to afflict large numbers in our day. Its first outbreaks are seen generally in the glands; they swell, become inflamed, and the skin ulcerates. In mild cases the mischief is soon over, but in all its phases it is lingering and it often causes considerable personal disfigurement. One cannot therefore wonder that any procedure which offered a reasonable prospect of success in its treatment should obtain a great hold on the minds of the community. During the middle ages the most popular and effectual remedy was considered to be the Royal Touch, and it was sought for by rich and poor alike, young and old, beautiful or deformed. It is for this reason that the disease came to be called Morbus Regius, or King's Evil, a name which it holds to the present day, and many people know it by no other. It is not quite certain at what period the practice of Touching for the Evil first came into use by the Kings of England. Most writers seem agreed that the first monarch who possessed the gift of healing was Edward the Confessor, although but one instance is recorded

recorded of his using it, and that by a historian (William of Malmsbury) who wrote his history about 80 years after the king's death. The story given by the writer is that a young woman, with a painful swelling in her neck, was directed, in a dream, to apply to the King to wash the affected part, that the King complied with her request, and that within the space of one week she was perfectly cured. Dean Stanley * writes:—

> There was a kind of magical charm in his thin white hands and his long transparent fingers, which not unnaturally led to the belief that there resided in them a healing power of stroking away the diseases of his subjects.

This belief survived his death, and we are further told (p. 132, Op. Cit.) that beneath his shrine

> the arches underneath were ready for the patients, who came to ensconce themselves there for the sake of receiving from the sacred corpse within the deliverance from the 'King's Evil' which the living sovereign was believed to communicate by his touch.

So far as I can find, there is no mention in contemporary chronicles that the power of healing was possessed by Edward the Confessor, and it is not mentioned among his other gifts in the Bull of Canonization of Pope Alexander III. about 100 years after his death. Shakespeare, however, describes him as fully exercising the power. The description is probably based on what occurred in Shakespeare's own day, as he speaks of the king using prayers and giving gold, which was probably not in circulation before the time of Edward III. The account will be found in Macbeth, Act IV. Scene III.

Malcolm (a fugitive from his own kingdom after the murder of his father, and residing at the court of Edward the Confessor) enquires of the doctor:

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* Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 2nd Ed. p. 13.

"Comes

"Comes the king forth, I pray you?

DOCTOR: Ay, sir; there are a crew of wretched souls
That stay his cure; their malady convinces
The great assay of art; but at his touch—
Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand—
They presently amend.

MALCOLM: I thank you, Doctor. (Exit Doctor).

MAID: What's the disease he means?

MALCOLM: 'Tis called the Evil
A most miraculous work in this good king;
Which often, since my here remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven
Himself best knows: but strangely visited people
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks
Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction."

There is no record of the immediate successors of the Confessor exercising this miraculous gift of healing. William the Conqueror was probably too much occupied, as one historian* remarks, with killing those who were well, and the uproarious sons of the Conqueror

affected no share in the sacred mesmerism of their saintly predecessor. They manipulated the sword, the lance, and the wine cup—occasionally knocked healthy people at head, but carefully eschewed the company of the sick.

Their scholarly brother, Henry, described as the Ulysses of the Norman dynasty, married a saint's niece and a saint's daughter, who brought with her something like a title to the throne. Saintly Queen Maude, or Matilda the Atheling, used her best endeavours to ameliorate the "new poor laws" of the roystering Norman usurpers,

* Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. xi, p. 105.

and

and chronicles speak of the washing and healing the wounds and sores of the poor by her, but we can trace no imposition of hands. Soon after this however the practice seems to have been notorious, and mention is made of it by Petrus Blesensis, Archdeacon of Bath and afterwards of London, chaplain to Henry II. about 1180. About a century later, in the time of Edward I., the healing power of the king was fully recognised and was frequently exercised both in public and in private. This king is said to have healed 182 persons. As the name-child of his Saxon ancestor he affected a good deal of St. Edward's piety, and the reconciliation between the Plantagenet kings and the poor commonalty was unquestionably strengthened by the honours paid to their beloved saint. From this time onward the power was claimed by successive monarchs, and formed an important part of their duties. The kings of England from the time of Edward I. to Edward III. kept an alchymist, Raymond Lully, who made gold for them at the Tower. This fact is handed down to us in the Chaillot MSS. where we are told that Raymond the alchymist's Tower gold was the purest angel gold, and the coins were called angels because the reverse side was impressed with the figure of an angel. On account of its superior purity it was used as the healing gold, each person touched receiving one coin from the royal hands during the ceremony. In the time of Henry VIII. all royal offices were carefully observed, and in addition to his observance of the healing by touch he insisted on his numerous queens performing a religious office of blessing cramp-rings, some of his antiquaries having discovered that this privilege had been enjoyed by Queen Edith, Consort of Edward the Confessor. The royal ceremonies of healing by touch and consecration of cramp-rings were duly recognised by the Tudor Queens, Mary and Elizabeth. It is said that for a time Queen Elizabeth discontinued the practice, but there are many instances

instances on record of her having exercised the supposed power. Although Cromwell claimed and exercised many of the royal functions he never attempted this. During the rising in the West of England the Duke of Monmouth, claiming to be the rightful king, touched several persons, and among the accusations made against him on his trial at Edinburgh for high treason we find that he was charged with having "touched children of the King's Evil." Two witnesses prove this as having been done at Taunton.* On the accession of William III. the healings ceased for a time, the king being persuaded, as Rapin says (History of England, vol. iv.,) that the sick would not suffer by the omission. Macaulay says of him he had too much sense to be duped and too much honesty to bear a part in what he knew to be an imposture. "It is a silly superstition," he exclaimed, when he heard that at the close of Lent his palace was besieged by a crowd of the sick, "Give the poor creatures some money and send them away." On one solitary occasion he was importuned into laying his hand upon a patient and he said, "God give you better health and more sense." The last English monarch to touch was Queen Anne, in whose reign the ritual of the Royal Healing Service was first added to the Book of Common Prayer, just after the Thanksgiving for her accession. Her adoption of the practice gave great offence to the Jacobites, and it is said she was urged thereto by the success of her brother's healing establishment at St. Germains, where vast numbers of diseased persons went to seek the touch of the disinherited heir to the throne. His success was much greater than hers, and has been described as marvellous, but we must not forget that his patients had the advantage of a sea voyage, change of air, and change of food. Among the latest, if

* Howell's State Trials, vol. xi.

not

not the last, for whom the royal touch was used may be mentioned the celebrated Dr. Johnson, and in Boswell's Life of Johnson (London, 1824, vol. i, pp. 17-18,) we find a full account of the case.

Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much affected with the scrofula, or King's Evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other. His mother, yielding to the superstitious notion which, it is wonderful to think, prevailed so long in this country, as to the virtue of the royal touch,—a notion which our kings encouraged, and a man of such enquiry and such judgment as Carte could give credit,—carried him to London, where he was actually touched by Queen Anne. Mrs. Johnson, indeed, as Mr. Hector informed me, asked the advice of the celebrated Sir John Floyer, then a physician at Lichfield. Johnson used to talk of this very frankly, and Mrs. Piozzi has preserved his very picturesque description of the scene as it remained upon his fancy. Being asked if he could remember Queen Anne,—'he had' (he said) 'a confused but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds and a long black hood.'

This touch, however, was without any effect. On the same day 200 persons were presented at the Healing Service. Soon after the accession of George I. an English gentleman applied to the king on behalf of his son, and was referred to the Pretender. The gentleman acted upon the hint, took his son to the Continent, got him touched, and the lad got well. By this means the King lost a good subject and the Pretender gained a new adherent.* We are further told that the Pretender used to exercise his gift in the Paris hospitals and his son, Charles Edward, once touched a child in Edinburgh in 1745. He was unwilling at first to listen to the entreaties of the mother, but at last he allowed the child to be brought to him. A circle was formed by his attendants, the child was introduced, a

* Chambers' History of the Rebellion, 1827, vol. i, p. 183.

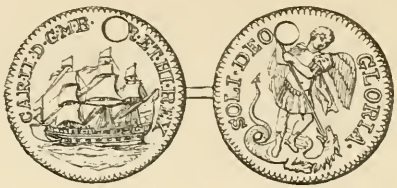
clergyman

clergyman offered up an appropriate prayer, the Prince approached the kneeling girl and on touching the diseased parts pronounced with great solemnity the words, "I touch, God heal." In twenty-one days the child was completely healed.

The numbers touched in some reigns were enormous, and afford a good idea of the prevalence of the disease. In some years many thousands of persons received the royal touch. In the time of Charles II. a register of cases was kept by the Serjeant of the Chapel Royal, and afterwards by the Keeper of the Closet. Upon the Restoration public healings were held three times a week till September, 1664, when the Court upon the approach of the plague removed from London. They were resumed however in 1667, and it appears from this register that the total number touched by Charles II. amounted to 90,798. The greatest number touched in one year was in 1682 when 8,447 were registered. The cost in money alone which these healings caused must have been considerable. In the time of Henry VIII. the angel, the name given to the coin which each person received, was of the value of seven shillings and sixpence. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it was ten shillings. In 1663 the annual charge for touch pieces was at least £3,000. The substitution of silver touch pieces by James II. rendered the ceremony less expensive. The Rev. James Wilson has called my attention to some Mint papers published from the MSS. of Sir Reginald Graham by the Historical MSS. Commission: 6th Report, part I., p. 333, and dealing with the period 1664-1677. Details are given of a project for increasing the revenue by debasing the metal from which "Healing Medals" were made.

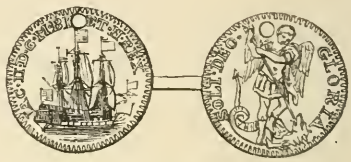
Besides the number of them spent one year with another being about 5,600, which amounts unto but £2,500, there would not be saved by such alteration more than about £1,000 yearly.

There



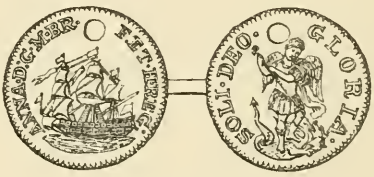
Charles II. (Gold.)

(Gold.)

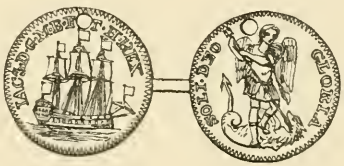


(Silver.)

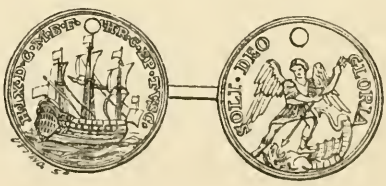
James II.



Anne. (Gold.)



The Pretender, as James III.
(Silver.)



The Cardinal of York, as Henry IX.
(Silver.)

From the Originals in the possession of Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A.

Reproduced by permission from the Archæological Journal, Vol. X.

There is another entry in the same MSS.:

1675 March 20. £92 4 8 for 200 Healing Pieces weighing 22 oz. 11 dwt. 18 gr.

It appears that

the former gold made for healing was a 10/- piece of current money made of fine gold, which, after his Majesy's raising the value of the gold coins, became worth 11/6.

In the time of Henry VII. the angel noble was the smallest gold coin in circulation, and it was in this reign the ritual service was first instituted. The touch piece had on one side the angel Michael overcoming the dragon and on the other a ship on the waves. The coins of the period generally bore some religious inscription, and the angel had PER CRUCEM TUAM, SALVA NOS, CHRISTUS REDEMPTOR. Queen Mary's and Queen Elizabeth's angels bore A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD, ET EST MIRABILE. The angels of James I. and Charles I. are smaller. James I. have A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD. Charles I. have AMOR POPULI PRÆSIDIUM REGIS. During his troubles he had not always gold to bestow and he substituted silver, and indeed often touched without giving anything. During the residence of Charles II. abroad the patients who came to be touched brought their own gold. After the Restoration the touch pieces were of less pure gold. They bear round the angel a still shorter legend, SOLI DEO GLORIA, which is continued on the touch pieces of succeeding reigns. There are none of William III. or Queen Mary. The Pretender as James III. had two, both of silver, one of better workmanship and probably Italian. Those of Charles Edward are very rare. Several touch tokens were exhibited in the Stuart Exhibition, one being a copper one, eight-tenths of an inch in diameter. Obv: An open hand issuing from the clouds touching one of a group of four bearded heads.

HE

HE TOUCHED THEM. Rev: Crown, beneath it rose and thistle entwined. AND THEY WERE HEALED. The medal is not perforated. I am doubtful if this kind of token was used at the healing services. See *Notes and Queries*, 7th S. vii, '89, p. 84. Recently I visited the coin department in the British Museum and examined the Touch pieces. They have one of Charles II. in gold, of James II. one in gold and one in silver, one of James III. in gold, and one of Anne in gold, said to have been the one which belonged to Dr. Johnson. In the collection of Mr. Hawkins, F.S.A., there is one of the Cardinal of York as Henry IX., but it is doubtful if he ever exercised or even claimed the power of healing. Through the courtesy of the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute I have been permitted to reproduce the illustration of the touch tokens in this gentleman's possession which appeared in vol. x. of the Archæological Journal. I am not aware of the existence of any touch pieces in Cumberland or Westmorland, but I think it probable that some may exist in private collections. With the aid of the illustration and of the full description of the pieces given above I am in hopes that hitherto unrecognised tokens may be identified, and if such should be the case, I hope that they may find a resting place in Tullie House, Carlisle, where I am sure they would find a welcome from its honorary curator, Chancellor Ferguson. There are several cases of local interest in which the royal touch has been obtained for residents in Cumberland or Westmorland, and this makes me think it possible that some unrecognised tokens may exist in private collections. Among the lists of collections for briefs in the Registers of Crosthwaite Church, near Kendal, Mr. Wilson, our invaluable and energetic secretary, informs me that the following entries occur.

1629, 14 Feby. Given to John Rig of Staveley who hath the King's Evil to go vp to be cured thereof 1/-.

Given

Given to Nathaniel Glover of Kirkland towards ye carrying vp of two children to London 7[l] Eod. die.
11 April 1629. Given to Geo. Sigswick towards the carrying vp of his two sonnes iii[s] 5[d].

In the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) of Charles II. there is an entry at p. 447 to which my attention was called by the Rev. James Wilson, of Dalston. It is as follows :

Sep. 6, 1667.
Cockermouth. 83. John Lamplugh, George Lamplugh, rector of Lamplugh, George Williamson and Pickering Hewer, to Williamson. Desire him to procure His Majesty's touch to John Dixon, a neighbour and parishioner, who is troubled with the Evil.

Sir Joseph Williamson was Secretary of State, and a native of Bridekirk, near Cockermouth. In Hutchinson's History of Cumberland (vol. ii, p. 244,) there is a short notice of his life. We are told that he was particularly attentive and friendly to his countrymen, and we can readily imagine that he would lend a willing ear to the petition of the rector and two justices of a parish near to that from which he had himself sprung.

There is a notice in the Grasmere parish register referring to the subject. My attention was called to it by Mr. George Browne, of Troutbeck, Windermere, and through the kindness of the present rector, the Rev. W. Jennings, I am able to give it as follows :

Wee the Rector & Churchwardens of the Parish of Grasmeere in the County of Westmorland do hereby certify that David Harrison of the s[d] Parish aged about ffourteen years, is afflicted as wee are credibly informed with the disease comonly the King's Evill; & (to the best of o[r] knowledge) hath not heretofore been touched by His Majesty for y[e] s[d] Decease.

In Testimony whereof wee have hereunto set o[r] hands & seals the ffourth day of ffeb: Ano Doi 1684.

Henry ffleming, Rector.
John Benson, } Churchwardens.
Jo[n]. Mallinson, }

Registered by John Brathwaite, Curate.

There

There is a memorandum on a fly-leaf of the Penrith parish registers in the handwriting of the Rev. John Child, vicar, as follows:

Memorandum that I certified for Isaac Threlkeld to get the King's touch under my hand and seal the 25 Aprill Anno Regis Jacobi Secundi Tertio, Anno que Domi 1687.

Mr. Whitehead, whose knowledge of parish registers no one in this Society can doubt, and to whom I am indebted for the above extract, informs me that it is the only entry of its kind in a Cumberland parish register known to him. Mr. Child was vicar of Penrith from 1670 to 1694, and Mr. Watson in his paper on "Notabilities of Old Penrith" in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the advancement of Literature and Science, No. xvi, p. 67, tells us that Mr. Child greatly improved the form of registration, and that he was a man of great exactness and neatness in the keeping of the registers. To this love of exactness we are probably indebted for the notice quoted above. It is fair to assume that there were other cases from Cumberland and Westmorland, but those above-mentioned are the only ones of which I can find any trace. The records of the Corporation of Preston contain two votes of money to enable persons to go from Preston to be touched for the Evil. Both are in the reign of James II. There are no traces in our local municipal records of such payments.

In order to obtain the Royal Touch it was at one time necessary to obtain the intercession of some of the king's nobles. Certain days were appointed by proclamation for a "Public Healing," and officers were appointed to make selection of suitable candidates. In course of time certificates were needed, signed by the vicar and churchwardens of the parish to which the patient belonged that he had never been touched before. This was rendered the more

more necessary as patients were thought to apply a second time more for the sake of the gold than with the hope of obtaining relief of their sufferings, and by a proclamation ministers and churchwardens were enjoined

to be very careful to examine into the truth before they give such certificates and also to keep a register of all certificates they shall from time to time give.

This accounts for some of the notices given from local parish registers. The faith in the healing power of the Royal Touch was general in all classes, and especially among the physicians and surgeons of the day,—men not very ready in admitting that cures may be effected without making use of the remedies which they themselves prescribe. Gilbertus Anglicus, a physician of the time of Henry III. and Edward I., alludes to the exercise of the power, and says scrofula is called King's Evil because the kings have power to cure it. John of Gadsden, physician to Edward II., advises recourse to the Royal Touch in desperate cases. Dean Tooker, one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, testifies that many wretched sufferers were restored to health by the Queen's touch, aided by the prayers of the whole church. Clowes, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospitals, and surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, in writing of scrofulous ulcers, says

These kinds do rather presage a divine and holy curation, which is most admirable to the world, that I have seen and known performed and done by the sacred and blessed hands of the Queen's Most Royal Majesty.

Wiseman, chief surgeon to the army of Charles I. and afterwards surgeon to Charles II. writes:

I myself have been a frequent eye witness of many hundreds of cures performed by his Majesty's touch alone, without any assistance of chirurgery, and not only from the several parts of this nation, but also from Ireland, Scotland, Jersey and Garnsey.

Dean

Dean Swift, writing in 1711 of a visit to the Duchess of Ormond, says :

> I spoke to her to get a lad touched for the evil, the son of a grocer in Capel St, one Bell—the ladies have bought sugar and plums of him.

These quotations are sufficient to show the opinions of eminent physicians and ecclesiastics, and could readily be multiplied.

There were both public and private Healings. At the latter the number touched was only small. The *cure* of the patient did not always follow upon the Healing; it advanced by degrees and often required a considerable time to be completed. In many instances it failed altogether. The numbers flocking to the Court rendered frequent Healings necessary, and the time and place varied with different monarchs. In 1683 a proclamation was ordered to be published in every parish in the kingdom enjoining that the time for presenting persons for the "Public Healing" should be from the Feast of All Saints till a week before Christmas, and after Christmas till the first day in March, and then to cease till Passion Week. The Healings were held wherever the Court happened to be. If in London they were held at Whitehall, and we have record of them at Langley by Henry VIII., at Kenilworth by Queen Elizabeth, at Newmarket by Charles II., and at Bath by James II.*

The following extract from Bishop (then Archdeacon)

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* In the London Gazette for May 6, 1667, there appears an advertisement which Mr. Cranston, of the Carlisle Patriot Office, informs me is one of the earliest known advertisements. It is repeated in several subsequent Gazettes and is as follows :

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

We are, by his Majesty's command, to give notice that, by reason of the great heats which are growing on, there will be no further *touching for the evil* until Michaelmas next, and accordingly all persons concerned are to forbear their addresses till that time.

Nicolson's

Nicolson's Journal, for which I am indebted to Chancellor Ferguson, will be of interest as referring to the service:

July 14, 1684.
In ye morning King's* musick at ye bed chamber, as usuall on Mundays. Touching for ye Evill in ye guard chamber.† Dr. Montague held ye gold. Water brought to ye King by the Vice Chamberlain.

It does not appear that there was any regular form of religious service used before the time of Henry VII. and the new ritual introduced by that monarch was in Latin, the rubric being in English. It was taken from two forms in use in the Roman Catholic Church, "The Blessing for Sore Eyes" and the "Exorcismus Adversus Spiritus Immundos." The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, F.S.A., has collected a series of services used "at the Healing" by different monarchs. It is published in the British Archæological Journal, vol. xxvii, 1871. In it a copy is given of the office used by Queen Mary. In this reign when the sick were presented the sore on the patient's neck was crossed with an angel noble, which was then hanged about the neck to be worn (in the words of the rubric) till they were "full hoole." The use of the sign of the Cross in giving the gold gave rise to some jealousies, as if some mysterious operation were imputed to it. James I. discontinued the use of the Cross, but it was revived by James II. In the time of Charles I. the office was first published in English, and in the time of Queen Anne the service was materially shortened. The following is a list of the services used "At the Healing."

In 1686 a small volume was published which purports to contain the office used by Henry VII. (See below James II.)

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* Charles II.
† At Windsor.

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There is no copy, written or printed, in the reign of Henry VIII. of the "Prayers at the Healing," but the copy used by Queen Mary is probably a copy of the one used by this monarch as it does not modify the rubrics, and the word "King" appears in all the rubrics.

There is no copy of the reign of Edward VI.

The copy used by Queen Mary was in the possession of Cardinal Manning. On the fly-leaf, in the handwriting of Cardinal Wiseman, is written

Queen Mary's Manual for blessing cramp-rings and Touching for the Evil.

Queen Elizabeth's differs from Queen Mary's in the versicles and responses.

Charles I. The same as Queen Elizabeth's, but with more extended rubrics.

Charles II. The service "At the Healing" is contained in a volume published at the Hague, MDCL.

James II. In 1686 Henry Hills, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for his household and chappel, published two volumes.

The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be diseased with the King's Evil, used in the time of King Henry VII. Published by His Majesty's command.

Four copies of this are known, one being in the British Museum and another in the Lambeth Palace Library.

The second volume contains the same office, but in it the rubrics are still in English, the Prayers and Gospels in Latin. There are two copies in the British Museum, one of which belonged to George III. and has a picture representing the ceremony.

Queen Anne. The copies of Queen Anne's ritual are five in number:

1. 4to. London, 1707. By Charles Bill and the Executor of Thomas Newcomb deceased. The office is immediately after the accession

sion service. Lathbury says the service first appeared in 1709, but this is two years earlier.

2. 4to. London, 1708. Bound up at the end of a Bible printed in 1708 by Charles Bill and the Executor of Thomas Newcomb deceas'd.
3. 4to. London, 1709. Printed by Charles Bill and the Executor of Thomas Newcomb, deceas'd, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. This volume is illustrated. (British Museum).
4. 8vo. London, 1709. With the same imprint, and also in British Museum. Another copy is said to be annexed to the Prayer Book printed at Oxford University Press in 1712.
5. 8vo. London, 1713. Liturgia seu Liber precum Communium.

George I. In four editions of the Prayer Book published in the reign of George I. the office is found :

1. Folio. Oxford, 1715. Printed by John Baskett, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty and to the University.
2. 4to. Oxford, 1721. With the same imprint.
3. Folio. Oxford, 1721. Printed by John Baskett, printer to the University.
4. 8vo. London, 1727. Liturgia seu Liber precum Communium.
5. A reprint of the English version is in the appendix to the edition of L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices.

George II. In a Latin Prayer Book published in 1744 the " Forma Strumosos Attrectandi " appears.

No one has been able to discover any authority for including the office in the Book of Common Prayer. There are some local copies in existence, and some time ago Canon Matthews lent me one bearing the date of 1709, similar to the one in the British Museum.

A short description of the service, as used by Charles II., will probably be of interest. The certificates were first of all examined by the surgeon and countersigned by him. The Clerk of the Closet, generally one of the bishops, had charge of the gold distributed at the Healings. Under him was a Closet Keeper, who kept the register. He received the gold from the Exchequer and attended the

the Healings with the gold ready strung on his arm, and presented it to the Clerk of the Closet. On the day appointed, usually a Sunday or some other festival, the time generally after morning prayer, the sick people are placed in order by the chief officer of the Yeomen of the Guard. The King enters and is surrounded by his nobles and many other spectators. One of his chaplains then begins to read the Gospel, taken from St. Mark, xvi, 14, the Gospel for Ascension Day. At the 18th v.: "They shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover," the surgeons in waiting, after making their obeisances, bring up the sick in order. The chief surgeon delivers them one by one on their knees to the King, and as Evelyn, a spectator of the proceedings on one occasion, says:

The king strokes their faces, or cheeks with both his hands at once. Another surgeon then takes charge of the patients to be brought up afterwards to receive the gold. The words of the 18 v. are repeated by the chaplain between every healing, till all the sick are touched, which being done the Gospel is continued to the end of the chapter. The second Gospel is then begun and is taken from St. John, I. 1. After the eighth verse, the surgeons, making their obeisance as before, bring up the sick in their order, the Clerk of the Closet then on his knees delivers to the King the gold strung on white silk ribbon and the King puts it about their necks as the chaplain reads the 9th v: "That was the true light, which lighteth every man which cometh into the world," which he repeats as each one receives his gold. The Gospel is then continued, ending with the 14th verse. This being finished, the chaplain, with the rest of the people on their knees pronounce the following prayers:

Vers. Lord, have mercy upon us.
Resp. Lord, have mercy upon us.
Vers. Christ, have mercy upon us.
Resp. Christ, have mercy upon us.
Vers. Lord, have mercy upon us.
Resp. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Then the Chaplain reads the Lord's Prayer, after which these versicles, the responses being made by those who come to be healed. Vers.

Vers. O Lord, save thy servants.
Resp. Which put their trust in thee.
Vers. Send help unto them from above.
Resp. And Evermore mightily defend them.
Vers. Help us, O God, our Saviour.
Resp. And for the Glory of thy Name deliver us and be merciful to us sinners for thy Name's sake.
Vers. O Lord hear our Prayers.
Resp. And let our cry come unto thee.

The Chaplain then reads the following prayer: "O Almighty God, who are the giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to Thee for succour, we call upon Thee for thy help and goodness, mercifully to be showed to these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks to Thee in thy Holy Church, through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen."
The "Gratia Domini" concludes the service. After the service, the Lord Chamberlain and two other nobles, having brought up the linen, with a basin and ewer to wash the King's hands, he takes leave of the people and they joyfully and thankfully every one return home, praising God and their good King.

The Kings of France also claimed the right to dispense the gift of healing. Laurentius, first physician to Henry IV., who is indignant at the attempt to derive its origin from Edward the Confessor, asserts the power to have commenced with Clovis I., the first Christian king, and other writers also declare that this monarch exercised the power by gift from heaven. Fuller, in his Church History, 1-227, says:

The Kings of France share also with those of England in this miraculous cure.

In a MSS. in the Cambridge University Library is this memorandum:

The Kings of England and France by a peculiar guift cure the King's Evil by touching them with their handes and so doth the seventh sonne.

There

There is some evidence to show that the practice of the touch was in use in the time of Philip I. of France, and it continued until 1776. On his coronation in 1775 Louis XVI. touched 2,400 individuals. He touched each one by making a cross on the face and saying "Le roi te touche, Dieu te guerisse," the King touches thee, may God cure thee.*

In such widely separated districts as Cornwall and the North-West Highlands of Scotland the belief still lingers that the touch of the seventh son can cure scrofula. Sir Arthur Mitchell, in a paper read before the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1860, says he has seen more than one poor idiot with strumous complications, for whom this magic touch had been obtained. A Lewis gentleman to whom he referred says it is customary in Lewis for the seventh son to give the patient a sixpenny piece with a hole in it, through which a string is passed. This the patient wears constantly round his neck. In the event of its being removed or lost the malady breaks out again. Adults have been known to resort to a seventh son of not more than two years of age. A person caught hold of the bairn's wrist and applied his little hand to the patient's sore. Sir Arthur Mitchell considers that the custom probably owes its origin to the story of the seven sons of Sceva, the Jew (Acts, xix, 13). It is true that all the seven sons claimed the power of casting out evil spirits, and possibly this claim may have rested upon the

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* The Kings of England, France, Jerusalem and Sicily were *sacred* at their coronations, and so were possessed of a clerical character. See *The Sacring of the English Kings*, by J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., *Archæological Journal*, vol. 51, p. 29-32. Notwithstanding the clerical character of the King of England in the middle ages, yet no priest-like functions seem to have been assigned to him: no ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments. The nearest approach to such functions seems to have been the touching for the king's evil, and the blessing of cramp rings on Good Friday. See W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1847, vol. iii, pp. 330-340: cited in *Archæological Journal*, *ut supra*. One would thus expect to find all these four kings touching for the king's evil. At a later time by special papal dispensation the King of Scotland was also sacred.—EDITOR.

fact

fact that there were seven, which is the chief mystical number in the East. It is easy to understand that the gift which the seven claimed eventually came to be regarded as the possession of the seventh alone. The gift does not appear until the seventh is born. He brings it. It seems likely then that with an ignorant people they would soon acknowledge that it belongs only to him.

In conclusion I beg to express my obligations to Chancellor Ferguson and other members of the Society for valuable help in connection with this paper. I am also indebted for many references to an interesting paper in vol. x. of the Archæological Journal, by Mr. Hussey, of Oxford. The subject has not hitherto come under the notice of the Society, and I hope what I have written may be of some service.

ART. XXVII.—*The Victims of the Tudor Disestablisment in Cumberland and Westmorland during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.* By the Rev. JAMES WILSON, M.A.

Communicated at the Isle of Man, September 24, 1894.

THE religious persons ejected from the monasteries were in no envious circumstances when the youthful son of the Royal exterminator ascended his father's throne. There was some show of commiseration * for them in the matter of pensions, but however ample these eleemosynary grants were supposed to be, the yearly instalments were not regularly paid and the unhappy monks were forced to beg or else to undertake manual labour. The country swarmed with wandering monks and friars who were suspected of preaching treason among the people and persuading them that things should never be well settled till they were restored to their houses again. They flocked up to London to demand their pensions in person and while there they became such a nuisance that a proclamation † was issued ordering all pensionaries to remain in their usual places of abode and to send up certificates to the Court of Augmentations when justice would be impartially dealt out to them. The proclamation was followed by an Act of Parliament (1 Edward VI. cap. 3) which added humiliation to their other misfortunes. The statute against vagabonds, in which the provisions ‡ against clerics convicted of

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* See the instructions issued by Henry VIII. to the Commissioners for Westmorland as given in the Appendix: also the *Injunctions for a Visitation of Chauntries*, as given in Burnet (*Collection of Records*, vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 212-15).

† Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. v, 225 (Lathbury's Edition) and also Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, 83 (Clarendon Press, 1816).

‡ Though this Act was repealed two years later, it may be convenient to recall some of its provisions against the clergy—

(6) No clerk convict shall make his purgation, but shall be a slave for one year to him who will become bound with two sureties, in twenty pound to the ordinary, to the King's use, to take him into service: and he shall be used in all respects, as is aforesaid like to a vagabond.

vagrancy

vagrancy are severe and cruel in the extreme, was levelled against them. It is little wonder that these poor priests should come in for such hardships as the sermons of the Gospellers were full of angry denunciations of their whole tribe and of the system which they had formerly upheld.

Not only were the disestablished monks in a sorry plight, but it would seem that the ecclesiastical machinery of the realm was dislocated and religion itself in a state of general discredit at the opening of this reign. The bishops were made by a new Act (1 Edward VI. c. 2) the creatures of the king and the ecclesiastical courts were so reconstructed as to minimize their moral authority in the eyes of the clergy. The public contumely which was the lot of the monks soon extended to the parochial clergy. In the streets of London the licence was so great and the treatment of the clergy was so outrageous that the king in council was forced to issue a proclamation * to reform the disorder, forbidding

serving men and other young and light persons and apprentices to use such insolency and evil demeanour towards priests or those that go in scholar's gowns like priests, as revelling, † tossing of them, taking violently their caps and tippets from them or otherwise to use them than as becomes the king's most loving subjects one to do towards another.

Ecclesiastical matters were in this condition when the advisers of the young king proceeded to lay hands on the

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(7) A clerk attainted or convict, which by the law cannot make his purgation, may by the ordinary be delivered to any man who will become bound with two sufficient sureties to keep him as his slave five years: and then he shall be used in all respects as is aforesaid for a vagabond, saving for burning in the breast.

(8) It shall be lawful to every person to whom any shall be adjudged a slave to put a ring of iron about his neck, arm or leg (Pickering's *Statutes at Large*, vol. v, 246).

It was thought a hardship, says Collier, that the monks, who had a creditable education, were bred to learning and many of them persons of condition, should be tied to labour, and come under the penalties of common servants and be treated no better than the lowest of the people (*Ecclesiastical History*, v, 225).

* The proclamation is printed at length in Collier (v, 230).

† Reviling.

lands

lands and endowments of the chantries, free chapels, collegiate churches, and guilds throughout the kingdom. The revenues of many of these institutions had been granted to Henry, his father (37 Hen: VIII. cap. 4), but the spoliation was not complete when that monarch died. In the Act of Edward (1 Edward VI. cap. 14) which annexed their lands, goods and chattels to the Crown, there is a repetition of the ecclesiastical policy in vogue during the late reign. It begins with a copious flow of piety in the preamble, continues with an enumeration of the spoils, and concludes with their confiscation. The outcome of this legislation added an important contingent to the multitude of the pensioners. It is a mistake* to suppose that the deprived priests were not considered in the provisions of the Act for the dissolution of the chantries. The commissioners, appointed to administer the Act, were authorized to assign a sum not exceeding the original income of the several establishments for the maintenance of the ejected persons, and they were required to promise on oath that they will "execute their commissions beneficially towards the deans, masters, wardens, provosts and other incumbents and ministers aforesaid, and towards the poor people, concerning the said assignments" (1 Edward VI. cap. 14). Opinions differ whether or not the commissioners fulfilled the intention of the Act.

Complaints from the deprived priests for the non-payment of their pensions were the order of the day. Local paymasters were appointed in the several counties, and a general survey was made with a view to test claims and reform abuses. Upon this new policy Strype observes—

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* The well-known Roman Catholic writer, Dr. Dodd, dropped into this error, from which he has been rescued by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.S.A., his able editor (*Church History*, vol. ii, 12-15).

In

In September (1547) appeared another point of the honesty of the king's policy, in taking care of the payment of his father's debts: unless some may rather look upon it as a device to come to the knowledge of what pensioners were alive and what dead. The 18th of the said month the king issued a proclamation to be published in every county about the payment of pensions, annuities, and corrodies granted by his father or by some abbots or priors: that whereas before they were used to be paid by the Receivers of the Court of Augmentations, the pensioners were henceforth to receive them yearly at the hand of the treasurer of the said Court, or of his deputies. And this order to take effect at Michaelmas next. And it was appointed, for the ease of the pensionaries and others, of what house or houses soever they were, to receive their pensions within the shire, where they dwelt, at the hand of the said treasurer or his deputies. It was also commanded, that all having these pensions, annuities and corrodies, should appear on such a day and place before the said treasurer's deputies, who were sent down to take notice of their patents and grants, which they were to bring with them and to exhibit: to the intent the said treasurer might be the better ascertained of their states and of the sums of money he was to appoint to his said deputies for the contentation of their said pensions. And if any appeared not in person, to send a certificate in writing under the hands of two justices of the peace, or one justice and one gentleman, declaring the same to be living and in lawful state to receive his or their pensions.*

The same writer confesses † that those who were appointed to pay these poor men were suspected of dealing hardly with them by making delays, or requiring bribes and deductions out of the pensions, or fees for writing receipts. This abuse was in some measure ameliorated by the local administration of the pensions and the pressure of a proclamation commanding an audit to test the fairness of the payments.

It may be imagined that any reformation in the method of dealing with those pensioners would take some time before it reached our north-western counties. And such

* Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, 58, folio, 1721.
† *Ibid*, vol. ii, 118.

we

we find to be the case. I have searched in the Public Record Office for the documents connected with these pensions for Cumberland and Westmorland, but for the reign of Edward I have met with only partial success.* Whatever documents I have found relate to Westmorland alone. The description of them I take from the official catalogue of "Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellanea, Suppression Papers," vol. i, where I find the following abstract—

A. O.
6 Edward VI.
835
59

Commission issued from the Court of Augmentations appointing Thomas Sandforth, Alen Bellyngham and Richard Washyngton to enquire in Co: Westmorland as to late religious persons holding pensions, corrodies, &c. 1 September 6 Edward VI. Fragment of great Seal of Augmentations (Mem. Parchment).
Annexed. I. Schedules of pensions, corrodies and salaries of Schoolmasters in Co: Westmorland paid by Thomas Newneham, Knt, Receiver there in the year 5 Edward VI. paper book, 4 mems. II. Certificate of above Commissioners returned 1 January 6 Edward VI. (Mem. Parchment).

These three documents are rolled together and tied with the inevitable piece of red tape. As ecclesiatical documents they are of the utmost importance as giving not only the names of the pensioners and the amount of the gratuities but also the report of the Commissioners. From an attentive study of the first schedule and from its comparison with the second, or certificate, the nature and intention of the Edwardian policy is very apparent. These documents are given in full.

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* It is only fair to say that my search was neither very careful nor very extensive. The date of these documents, 1552, is the same as the survey of church goods in the parish churches. This valuable inventory for the County of Cumberland has been carefully transcribed by my friend, the Rev. H. Whitehead, and printed in these Transactions, vol. viii, 186-204.

COMMISSION.

Edwarde the Sixt by the grace of god King of Englande ffraunce and Irelande defendor of the faith and of the Churche of Englande and also of Irelande in erthe the supreme heade To our trustie and welbeloved Thomas Sandforthe Alen Bellyngham Esquiers and Richard Washington gentleman sende greatyng Know ye that for the good opinion we have reposed in yor wisdomes and dexterities wee have ordeyned named constituted and appoynted you to be our Commissioners gevying to yow or two of yow full power and aucthoritie to assemble yor selfs in such and so many places in our Countie of Westmerlande as to yor discrecions shalbe thought convenient and to enquyre as well by thothes of honest and lawfull psons of our said Countie as by all other wayes and meanys semyng to yor discrecions convenient for the tryall of the truthe in these matters folowing, ffirst ye shall enquire how many of the late Abbotts Pryours Abbesses Pryoresses Monks Channons ffryers nonnys Incumbents and other mynisters of evy Abbey Pryory hospitall howse of ffryers Colledge Chauntries ffrechappells guylds or ffraternities and stipendary prests or evy other having rent chardge annuytie or pencon going out or charged of any Abbey Pryory hospitall howse of ffryers Colledge Chauntrie ffrechappell guylde or ffraternitie or out of any their possessions for terme of lyfe mencoed in a Sedule or booke hereunto annexed be or shalbe at the tyme of your Session deade and what tyme and where every of them died Also how many of the said psons named in the said sedule be unpaide of their annuyties or pencions and for how long tyme and for what occasion they be so long unpaid Also ye shall enquyre how many of them have solde graunted and assigned over their annuyties and pencons to whom when and for what somes of mony the same sales graunts and essignements over were made And further wee gyve yow full power and aucthoritie by these presentes to calle before yow at such tymes and places as ye shall appoynt wthin our said Countie as well all and every the psons in the said Sedule mencoed as all and every other pson and psons whom yow shall thincke convenient and to examyne them and evy of them of the premisses aswell by their corporal othes and sight of their patents or otherwise by your discrecions and herein we woll and comaunde yow and every of yow to endevor yor selfs wt all diligence for the spedye and pfecte accomplesshement of the premisses and that ye or two of yow shall certifie us of your doings and procedyngs herein distinctly and playnely into our Court of Thaugmentacons and revenues of our Crowne by wrytyng in pchment subscribed wt yor hendes and sealled wt your seallys or wt the seallys of two of yow at the least ymmedyatly together wt this Comission straytly chargyng

chargyng and comaundyng aswell the Sherif of our said Countie as all other our officers and mynisters in the same Countie to be attendaunt aydyng and assistyng to yow in thexecucion of the premisses as they tender our pleasure and will answere to the contrary In witnes wherof we have caused these our lres to be made patent and sealled w^t the great seale of our said Court of Thaugmentacons and revenues of our Crowne the first day of Septembre in the syxt yere of our reigne

Schedule of Pensions.

Com. Westm'd } Ricus huchenson Auditor Thomas Newenhm Mil. Rec. } liber penc. Annuitat. & Corod. de Anno quinto Rz Edwardi Sexti

Comitatus Westmlond } Sequnt^r pencoes Annuitates & Corod. cum Salar. ludimagror. infra com. Westmlond pdict. in compo. Thome Newnehm militis Receptoris dni Regis ibm regni regis Edwardi Sexti quinto allocat. p'ut in eodem comp. plenius apparet

Shappe nup. Mon.

- Ricus Baggote p. annu' xl^li
- Martinus Makerethe ad c^s p. annu' x^li p. duobus annis
- Johnes Dawson ad c^s p. ann. x^li p. duobus annis
- Robtus Laylond p. annum vi^li
- Hugo Watson p. annu' vi^li
- Johnes Adyson p. annu' vi^li
- Johnes Bell p. annu' cvi^s viij^d
- Edwardus Michell p. annu' vi^li
- Georgius Ellerson p. annu' iiij^li
- Anthonius Johnson p. annu' iiij^li
- Johnes Roode p. annu' iiij^li
- Ricus Mell p. annu' c^s
- Radus Watson ad iiij^li p. annu' xx^li p. quingz annis finit. ad ffest Michis hoc anno x^to E. vi^ti ac pz acquiet inde
- Edmundus Carter p. annu' vi^li

cxxxij^li xj^s viij^d

Adam

Terr. & Poss. ptinen. dnis nup Cantar. & al. consimil.

- Adam Sheparde p. annu' lxvj^{s} viij^{d}
- Robtus Bryse p. annu' lxiiij^{s} iiij^{d}
- Johnes Garnett p. ann liiij^{s} vij^{d}
- Alanus Sheparde ad vj^{li} p. annu' n^{o} qz non dot.
- Ricus Becke p. annu' xx^{s}
- Robtus Hogeson p. annu' iiij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
- Willus Moneforthe p. ann vj^{li}

} xx^{li} xviij^{s} xi^{d}

Sm. omi. penconu' in dco. com. Westmlond dco. anno quinto } cliij^{li} x^{s} vij^{d}

Annuitates sive Stipend.

Shappe nup. Monasterum

- Georgius Blenkensoppe p. annu' xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
- Robtus Wallez als Welles ad xv^{s} iiij^{d} p. ann xxx^{s} viij^{d} p. duobus annis finit. in Clo. huius compi
- Michael Crakenthroppe p. annu' iiij^{li}
- Alexander Whittyngton p. annu' xl^{s}
- Ambrosius Midelton p. ann xl^{s}
- Edmundus Carter p. annu' iiij^{li}

} xiiij^{li} xvij^{s} iiij^{d}

Sm. omi. Annuitat. in dco com. Westmlond dco Anno x^{to} Rz Ed } xiiij^{li} xvi^{s} iiij^{d}

Corrodia siue stipendia ludimagrorum

Terr. & Tenta in Stikney Hondilbie Somercotes Skidbroke in com. lincoln nup. ptinen. libere Schole gramatice in Kendalle in dco. com. Westmlond } Adam Sheperde magister schole gramatice p. annu' x^{li} modo Stephani Wilson

Terr

Terr. & tenta ptinen. nup. Cant. de Appulbie in dco. Com. Westmland	Edwardus Gibson magister schole gramatice p. ann.	cx^{s} viij^{d}
Terr. & Tenta nup. expectan. ad ..... magri schole gramatice in Burgh in Com. Westmland	Johes Becke magister schole gramatice p. annu'	vij^{li} xi^{s} iiij^{d}

Sm. omi. Stipend. ludi Magror. in Com. Westmland } xxiij^{li} ij^{s}

Report of Commissioners.

Quarto Die Januarij Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Sexti VI^{to}

The Certificate of us Thomas Sandforthe Aleyn Bellingham Esquyers and Rychard Washington Gentleman made the day and yere abovesayd by virtue of oure Sov'aigne lordes Comission to us directed and and hereto annexed to enquere what penconers named in a Sedule to the said Comissioners lykewise annexed be dead and of other articles and thinges conteyned in the said Comissione

The persons named in the said Sedule beinge dead at this present

John Dawson a Channon of Shappe dyed at Graystocke the thryd day of Octobre Anno Regni Regis nunc (?) sexto and had for his pencon hereby c^{s}

John Garnet late Chauntre prest dyed at Kendall the xxvij day of Julye Anno R R tercio and had for his pencon yearely liiij^{s} vij^{d}

Richard Becke late Chauntre prest dyed at Kendall the xth day of ffebruary Anno R R quarto and had for his penson yearely xx^{s}

Sm: of the pensons determined viij^{li} xiiij^{s} vij^{d}

Aleyn

Aleyn Shepherd late Chauntre prest in the pishe churche of Kendall haythe shewed to us his patent for vi^{li} by yere and deposythe that the fyrst yere he payd by the Kinges Maties Receyvo^{rs} there and ev' sence he haithe been payd by the Receyvo^{r} of the Right honourable the lord Marques of Northampton And deposythe further that he the said Aleyn Shepherd receyved the pofytte of the lande certefyed by the Comissioners of Chaunteres to the Courte of Augmentacons by the space of xx yeres next afore the same Certificat and that next affore hym one Syr henrye godmonde receyved the same as chauntre prest there by the space of xviij yeres and afore him was chauntre prest there one Syr Stephyn Johnson durynge his lyf and afore him one Cowper all w^{che} receyved the pofytte of the lands certefyed in the Certlficat of Chaunterys beinge Chauntrye prests there and the said Sr Aleyn hathe subscribed a bill indented of the same

Thes persons whose names followithe dwellinge in other Shiers hathe made defaut

Edmound Carter

Willm Mouneforthe

Alexander Whittington M^{d} that none of the late brethryn of Shappe knowith the same Whittington nor we can get no knowlege of any such man

M^{d} that all the other persons named in the said Sedule or booke annexed to the said Comissione other than above-named be on lyve and hathe shewed to us theyr patents and ar satisfied and payd theyr pencons In Witnes wherof we the said Comissioners to thes presentes have subscribed o^{r} names and sette o^{r} Sealls the day and yere abovesaid

Thoms Sandfforttd

Alan Bellinghm Ryc Weyssyngton

Some other time it may be convenient to follow the history of the property of these religious houses and to find out what became of it and to whom it was sold. It is very instructive to go no further than to run one's eyes over the pages of the Book of Sales of Edward VI. and to learn how the quasi-pious intention of the legislature with regard to the disposal of this property for religious purposes* had come almost to nothing.

* As an example of this sort of thing one instance may be given from the Register of Thomas Gooderick, Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, found by Collier among the Harleian manuscripts and printed in his History (vol. ix, 296). It is as follows—

Whatever

Whatever may be said against the ecclesiastical policy of Queen Mary, there is no question but that she did her utmost to repair the breaches made in the walls of the English church by her father and brother. Her endeavours to restore the church lands and to reconstitute the monastic houses are well known. When she was unable to prevail on the nobles and gentry to fall in with her plans, the Queen's piety prompted her to set them a good example. A statute was passed (2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 4) restoring the church's patrimony as far as the Crown was concerned. The payment of tenths and first fruits by the clergy was abolished and all rectories, benefices, glebe lands, tithes and pensions vested in the Crown since the twentieth year of Henry VIII. were returned to the church for definite ecclesiastical purposes. The administration of these revenues was left to the discretion of Cardinal Pole. In this Act there were many provisos, and amongst them one of great importance to the ejected priests and monks. This proviso was a clause exonerating the King and Queen and their successors from the payment of pensions and annuities, to which were added corrodies and fees, which for the future were to be paid out of the first fruits and tenths without any burden upon the Crown.

The Archbishop set to work to bring church matters into line with this new policy. The prospects of the religious pensioners began to look brighter and their affairs were not only leniently but benevolently adminis-

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Nov. 1, 1552. A patent granted to license the lord bishop of Carlisle to sell to the lord Clinton, lord admiral of England, "Socam sive dominium suum de Horn-Castle cum omnibus pertinentiis in Com. Lincoln, in villis, campis, sive parochiis de Horn-Castle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Ashby, Maring, Wilesby, Haltham, Conisby, Boughton, Fimbleby, Moreby, Meckham, et Innerby in Com. predict," to have the same to him and his heirs "tenend. de domino rege," &c. There was likewise a license granted to the dean and chapter to confirm the said conveyance. And for all these lordships the purchaser was only to pay the yearly rent of twenty-eight pounds to the bishop.

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tered. A survey of the whole kingdom was undertaken and the results entered in two very bulky parchment folios, one of which was lodged in the Court of Exchequer on the Queen's behalf and the other with the Cardinal. The folio belonging to the Crown I have examined in the Public Record Office, where it is now kept under the official title of "Q. R. Miscellaneous Books, vol. xxxii." All persons having claims against the Crown for fees, corrodies or pensions are set out in seventy-seven schedules, for the most part under counties, with the amount due annually opposite each name. These schedules are of great interest to the ecclesiastical historian as giving an exhaustive list of all the survivors of the dissolved religious establishments. The survey is prefaced with an indenture which of itself is enough to explain the whole proceedings. As I have never seen this instrument in print, nor indeed its existence acknowledged, I need not hesitate to produce it without abridgement.

Q. R. Miscell. Books. Vol. 32.

THIS INDENTURE Made the xxiiijth daie of Februarie in the Seconde and thirde yeres of the reignes of our soueraigne Lorde and Ladie Philipp and Marie by the grace of god Kinge and Quene of Englande Fraunce Naples Jerusalem and Irelande Defendors of the Faithe Princes of Spaine and Cycile Archdukes of Austria Dukes of Millayne Burgundye and Braband Counties of Haspurge Flaunders and Tirole BETWENE our saide Soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the Kinge and Quenes Maiesties on thone ptie And the moste Reuerend father in god Reignolde Poole Cardinall and Legate de Latere of the popes Holynes and of the See Apostolique specialie sent vnto ther Maiesties and to their Kingdomes and Domiyons on the other ptery WHERE at the Parlyament begon and Holden at Westmynster the xxjth daie of Octobre in the saide seconde and thirde yeres of the reigne of our saide soueraigne Lorde and Ladie And there kepte and contynewed vntill the dissolucone of the same beinge the ixth daie of Decembre then next ensuinge one acte of perliament was made intytled an acte for the extinguyshment of the firste fruites and touching ordre

ordre and disposicon of the tenthes of spirituall and Eccliastical pronicions and of Rectories and Personagies impropriate remayninge in the Quenes handes it is emongest other thinges Provided and Enacted THAT WHERE the Kinge and Quenes Maiesties stand charged for the payment of sundrie rentes Pencones Annuities Corrodies Fees and othre yerelie paymentes seuerallye graunted aswell by diuers and sundrie late Abbotes Priours Masters of Colledgies Masters of Hospitalles Chauntrey prests and other eccliasticall and spuall persones before the dissolucone of theire houses to dyuerse and sundrie Persones seuerallie or jointlye for terme of lief lyves or yeres as also by hir Highnes Father Kinge Henrie theight and by hir Highnes Brothre Kinge Edwarde the Sixte and by hir Maiestie or by any of them to diuers and sundrie Religeous Persones and other seuerallie or jointlie for terme of lyefe lyves or yeres the names of all whiche personnes together w^t^ ther seuerall yerelie rentes pencones Annuyties Corrodies fees and yerelie paymentes and Proffites shulde be speciallie and pticlerlie set furthe and conteined in a certeyne boke Indented wherof thone Counterpaine to be signed by our said Soueraigne Ladie the Quene And thother w^t^ the signe Manuell of the saide most Reuerende Father in god Reignold Poole Cardynall to thintent our saide soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the Kinge and Quenes ma^ties^ theire heires and successores shuld be from the Feaste of sainte Michaell tharchangell laste paste and at all tymes from thensforthe clerlie exonerated acquited discharged or saued Harmelez of and from the payment of the saide rentes pencones annuyties Corrodies Fees and yerelie paymentes afforesaide Our saide Soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the Kinge and Quenes ma^ties^ were pleasid and contented that it was Enacted AND THERFORE yt was and is enacted by Aucthoritie of the saide pliament that suche and so manie of the clergie of this Realme as the saide Lorde Legates grace sholde and shall from tyme to tyme name and appoynte and the successors of them and of euerie of them (if it shall so please the saide Lorde Legates grace to name appointe and assigne them) shuld from the saide Feste of St Michaell tharchangell laste paste Before the makinge of the saide Acte and so from thensforthe from tyme to tyme vntill the saide Rectories psonagies and Benyfices impropriate and othre the spuall proffites specified in the saide Acte shulde be othrewyse ordred vsed and ymploied by thassignement of the saide Lorde Legates grace as in the saide acte is expressed and declared Haue take pceyve and receive aswell all and singler the perpetuall pencones annuall rentes or tenthes and euerie of them mencioned in the saide Acte at suche daies and tyme and by all suche waies and meanes as the same is lymited and appoynted to be paide either by seuerall

lres

lres patente or by the statute made in the xxvith yere of the saide Kinge Henrie theight or by eny other estatute made for and Concerninge the true payment of the saide tenthes or any of them as also all and singler thissues Reuenues proffites and Comodities of and in all and singler the saide Rectories psonage and Benyfices ympropryate glebe landes tithes oblacons Pencones Porcones and othre Proffittes and Emolumentes Eccliasticall and spuall aforssaide mencyoned in the saide acte And of the Reuersion and reuersions therof when they shall Falle by all suche waies remedies and means for the levyeng and Recovery of the Rentes and Proffites of the saide Premysses as our saide Soueraigne Lorde and Ladie hir highnes heires and successores shulde or might have donne if the saide premysses had still contynued in their Maiesties handes and possession to this vse entent and purpose followinge THAT IS TO SAIE that suche and asmanye of the clergie of this realme and theire successores as the saide most Reuerend fathre the Lorde Legate grace shulde name and appoynte as ys afforesaide shuld therwth satisfie content and paye or cause to be satisfied contented and paide to all and everie the saide Religeous persones and to others to be named wthin the saide boke indented wch at this tyme haue or ought to haue eny Pencone Corrodie annuitie yerelie rent pffytt or Fee for terme of liefe lyves or yeres as is afforesaide All and singler their saide pencones corrodies annuyties rente or fees at suche daies and tymes as is Lymitted and appoynted by seuerall lres patente or othre writinges or grauntes to them made and in soche manner and fourme as our saide soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the Kinge and Quenes highnesses hir heires and successours shulde or ought to haue paide the same if the saide Acte had never bynne had ne made any thinge mencioned in the saide acte to the contrarie not wthstandinge And that they sholde exonerate Acquite Discharge or saue Harmelez the saide Kinge and Quenes Maiesties and theires and successours of the Quenes highnes Kinges of this Realme of and for the payment of all and singler the saide Pencones Annuyties Corrodies and fees and sholde be further bounde for thassurance therof as shold be devised by theire ma^{ties} wth thassent of the saide Lord Legate Any thinge before in the saide Acte mencioned to the contrarie notwthstandinge as by the saide acte more playnelie apperithe BE YT WYTNESSED by thes presente that accordinge to the purport tenor effecte and playne meaninge of the saide estatute aswell the names of the psones afforesaide to whome any suche rente pencon annuytie corrodie Fee or othre yerelie payment as is before specified haue bynne heretofore graunted joyntlie or seuerallie for terme of lyfe lyves or yeres as is afforesaide as also the saide yerelie Rentes Pencons Annuyties Corrodies Fees and yerelie

yerelie paymentes so graunted wᵗ the wᶜʰ and with the payment wherof all suche of the clergie as shalbe appoynted for the collecion of the saide tenthes and othre the Premysses shalbe onerated and charged accordinge to the tenor fourme and effecte of the saide statute are speciallie and pticulerlie set furthe and conteyned in this boke indented wherof thone pte Remaininge wᵗ the saide Lorde Cardinall his grace is signed by our saide Soueraigne Ladie the Quene and thother pte remayninge wᵗ hir highnes is signed wᵗ the signe manuell of the saide Lorde Cardinall his grace accordinge to the fourme of the saide estatute AND FORASMUCHE as it is ordeyned by the saide estatute that the saide yerelie Rentes pencones annuyties corrodies Fees and yerelie paymentes graunted to the persones named in this booke indented sholde be paide to the same persones at suche daies and tymes as is Lymitted and appoynted by seuerall lres patente or othre Writinges or grauntes therof to the saide persones made and in manner and fourme as oʳ saide soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the Kinge and Quenes Highness hir heires and Successours sholde or ought to haue paied the same yf the saide acte had never byn had or made And for that dyuerse of the saide grauntes be made to dyuerse of the saide persones vpon condycone or by this clause quam diu se bene gesserit or wᵗ this Clause Quousque sibi de competenti Beneficio provisum sit or wᵗ suche like in effecte or eny othre by reson of wᵉ clauses or condicones dyuerse of the saide grauntes be determied and ought no longer to haue contynuance therfore to thintent the truthe maie be serched out and knowen concerninge the performinge and not pformynge of the saide Condicion and plaine meaninge of the saide clauses and of all other acte and actes thinge and thinges wherbye or for the wᶜʰ the saide grauntes or any of them be or oughte to be determyned OUR SAIDE SOUEREIGNE Lorde the Kinge and Lady the Quenes Maᵗⁱᵉˢ and the saide Lorde Cardinall his grace be pleased To prouyde and geve aucthoritie concerninge an ordre to be taken of and for the payment from hensforthe of the saide Rentes annuities Pencones Corrodies Fees and somes of monye in manner and fourme Followinge THAT IS TO SAYE our saide soueraigne lorde the Kinge and Ladie the Quene and the saide Lorde Cardinall his grace and everie of them by theis presente do give and graunte full powre and aucthoritie to the Lorde Chauncelor of Englande or to the keper of the greate seale for the time beinge and to the Lorde Tresorer and Lorde previe seale and to the chefe Justice of Englande And to the chefe Justice of the Comen plees for the tyme beinge and to three of them wherof the saide lorde chauncelor or lorde Keper of the grete seale for the time beinge to be one to calle before them iiijᵒʳ or iij of them wherof the saide Lorde Chauncelor

celer or lorde Keper of the grete seale for the tyme beinge to be one any of the pties to whome any of the saide grauntes be graunted or made as is afforesaide and all persones that canne depose concerninge the same or any thinge touchinge the same And in the presens or absens of the saide persones by the Othes of Witnesses as is afforesaide and by all other circumstaunce as shall seme mete or conueniyent to the saide Commyssioners iiij or three of them wherof the saide lorde Chauncelor or Keper of the greate Seale to be one to examyne and considre the validitie and invaliditie of the saide grauntes and of everie of them AND YF IT SHALL SEME or Appere to the saide Comyssioners or to three of them wherof the saide Lorde Chauncelor or Keper of the greate Seale to be one That eny of the saide grauntes so considered and examyned for any the causes afforesaide or for any other good and Juste cause or Consideracon be or ought to be dyminisshed determyned or from thensforthe no longer paide or contynewed THAT THEN thervpon the saide Comyssioners or three of them wherof the saide Lorde Chauncelor or Keper of the greate seale to be one to geve Judgment or take ordre therin as shall seame to theire wisdomes moste agreinge to lawe Equitie and Consiens and that aftre suche ordre or Judgmente geven euerie of the saide rentes pencones annuyties corodies Fees and annuall paimentes wherof such Judgement or ordre shalbe so geuen or taken accordinge to lawe equitie and consyence as is afforesaide shall haue continuaunce and be paide or not paied in no othre manner or fourme then accordinge to the tenor and effecte of suche Judgement or ordre so as is afforesaide to be geven or taken AND IT IS FURTHER Prouided and agreed by our saide soueraigne lorde the Kinge and Ladie the Quene and the saide Lorde Cardinall his grace that everie suche Judgement or ordre geven or taken as is afforesaide be entred vpon the backe of the writinge or lres patente of euerie suche graunte wherof suche Judgement or ordre shalbe so geven or taken as is afforesaide AND ALSO that theise lres J and G be written in the counterpayne of this booke indented remayninge w^{t} the saide Lorde Cardynall his grace over the name of him againste whome suche ordre shalbe had as is afforesaide And that done then the lres patente or other writinges of everie suche graunte whervpon suche iudgement or ordre shalbe so geven or taken to be deliuered to the ptie to whom the same was firste graunted or to his Lawfull deputie or assigne yf the saide ptie or his Lawfull deputie or assigne shall require it IN WYTNES of all the premysses To thone pte of this booke Indented remayninge w^{t} the saide Lorde Cardinall his grace our saide soueraigne ladie the Quene hath sett hir highnes signet And to thothre ptie remaininge w^{t} our saide soueraigne Ladie the Quene

Quene the saide Lorde cardinall his grace haue putte his signe manuall the daie and yere firste abovewritten And in further Witnes and Corroboracone of the assent and aucthoritie geven in the premysses by our saide soueraigne borde the Kinge and Ladie the Quene our saide soueraigne Lorde the Kinge and Ladie the Quene haue caused the saide Counterpaine of this booke indented remayninge wth the saide Lorde cardinall his grace to be sealed w^t^ the greate Seale of Englande And to the other pte of the saide boke Indented remayninge wth our saide soueraigne lorde and Ladie the Kinge and the Quenes Maties in the courte of Thexchequier the saide lorde Cardenalles grace hathe likewize put his seale the daie and yeres firste abouewriten

REG: CAR^lis^ POLUS. LEG:

WINCHESTER

EDWARD GRYFFYN
WILLIAM CORDELL

Specificantur et continent^r^ in septuaginta septem sedulis indentat. sequen. tam nomina et cognomina diuersar. personar. qm eor. separalia feoda an^tes^ corrodia et penciones eisdm pro termino vitae vel annor. concessa nuper in Curijs Scij et Ducatus Lancastrie de Thesauro Regio solut. ac imposter. per clerum vigore cuiusdm Actus Parliamenti exonerand. et soluend. videlt a festo sancti Michis Archi. annis regnor. Philippi et Mariæ dei gratia Regis et Reginæ Angliæ ffranciæ Neapolis Jerlm, et Hibniæ fidei Defensor Principum Hispaniar et Ciciliæ Archiducum Austriæ Ducum Mediolaniæ Burgundiæ Brabantiæ Comitum Hasburgiæ Flandriæ et Tirolis secundo et Tercio prout in separalibz Comitatibz subsequentibz perticulariter apparet

REG: CAR^lis^ POLUS LEG:

Q. R. Miscellaneous Books, vol, 32, ffol. 71.

Com. Westmerland

	Anntes	Georgij Blenkynsoppe p. ann.	xxvj^s^ viijd
		Robti Walles p. ann.	xv^s^ iiijd
		Michis Crakenthorpe p. ann.	iiij^li^
		Alexandri Whittingtone p. ann.	xl^s^
Shapp		Ambrosij Middletone p. ann.	xl^s^
nup. Mon.		Edi Carter p. ann.	iiij^li^

Rici

		Rici Baggot nup. Abbus. p. ann.	xlli
		Martini Mackarethe p. ann.	cs
		Johnis Dawsonne p. ann.	cs.
		Hugonis Watsonne p. ann.	vjli
	Penc.	Robti Bailonde p. ann.	vjli
		Johnis Adisonne p. ann.	vjli
		Johnis Bell p. ann.	cvis viijd
		Edwardi Michaell p. ann.	vjli
		Georgij Ellersonne p. ann.	iiijli
		Anthonij Johnsonne p. ann.	iiijli
		Johnis Rods p. ann.	iiijli
		Rici Mell p. ann.	cs
		Radi Watsonne p. ann.	iiijli
		Edmundi Carter p. ann.	vjli
		Adami Sheperd nup. incumben. Cant. bte. Marie in Kendall p. ann.	lxvjs viijd
Cant: Colleg: fraternit. et al. hmoi. in Com. predic.	Penc.	Robti Birse nup. incumben. Cant. sci. Anthonij in Kirkebye Kendale p. ann.	lxiiijs iiijd
		Johnis Garnett nup incumben. Cant. sci. Xpofer in eccl̃ia de Kirkebie Kendale	liiijs vijd
		Alani Sheperd nup. incumben. Cant. ad Altar. Tho. Beckett in Kendall p. ann.	vjli
		Robti Dogesonne nup. incumben. Cant. de Kirkebye londesdale p. ann.	iiijli xiijs iiijd
		Galfri Bainebrigge nup. incumben. Cant. Sci. Leonardi voc. le Spitle in Kirkebye londesdale p. ann.	iiijli iiijs
		Willmi Mounteforthe nup. incumben. Cantrie sive libe capelle de howe p. a.	vjli
		Sm. omi Soluc. in pdco. Comitat. Westmerland p. an.	clli xis vijd
		Comitat. Cumbr.	
scc. bege nup. Mon.	ffeod.	Dni Whartone senl general omn. poss. nup. mon. pred. ex concess. nup. abbis ibm. p. ann.	xxvjs viijd
Armethawit nup. Monaster.	Penc.	Anne Dartwentwater nup. P'oris	liijs iiijd
		Galfride Chambres p. ann.	xxvjs viijd
	Anntes	Margarete Standley p. ann.	xs
			Holme

Holme Coltrm nup. Monaster.		Anthonij Richerdsonne p. ann.	cs
		Johnis Idell p. ann.	iiijli
	Penc.	Willmi Symondsonne p. ann.	cs
		Robti Clement p. ann.	ls
		Johnis Allanbye p. ann.	cs
		Johnis Wyse p. ann.	lxvjs viijd
		Thome Browne p. ann.	iiijli xiijs iiijd
		Rici Patensonne p. ann.	lxvjs viijd
		Nichi Pygney p. ann.	iiijli
		Thome Yrebye p. ann.	xls
		Rici Adamesonne p. ann.	xls
		Willmi Moreton p. ann.	xls
		Robti Bankes p. ann.	lxvjs viijd
		Willmi Marshall p. ann.	iiijli xiijs iiijd
		Rici Waite p. ann.	cs
		Robti Harysone p. ann.	vjli
		Oliveri Skelton p. ann.	xxvjs viijd
		Jacobi Salkelde p. ann.	lxvjs viijd
Carlill nup. Monaster.		Thome Atkynsonne p. ann.	xxs
		Rowlandi Marke p. ann.	xxs
	Anntes	Hugonis Sewell p. ann.	xxvjs viijd
		Alexandri Whittingtone p. ann.	xls
		Rici Bensone p. ann.	cs
		Willmi Thomlynsonne p. ann.	cvjs viijd
	Penc.	Rici Jackesonne p. ann.	cvjs viijd
Wetherall nup. Monaster.	Anntes	Edwardi Walls p. ann.	xls
	Penc.	Radi Hartley p. ann.	xijli
Calder nup. Mon.	Corod.	Lawrencij Stanley p. ann.	lxs
		Rowlandi Thirkelde magr nup. Colleg. de Kyrke oswalde p. ann.	xvijli xs
Cant. Colleg. fraternit. et al hmoi. in Com. pred.	Penc.	Robti Thompsonne nup. incumben. in eodem Collegio p. ann.	cs
		Johnis Blenkerne alterius incumben. in dco. Collegio p. ann.	cs
		Robti Dune nup. incumben. Cant. sce. Crucis infra ecclia. Cath. Carliell	iiijli
Cant: Colleg: fraternit. et al. hmoi in Com. predco.		Hugonis Baker nup. incumben. Cant. sci. Albani infra Eccliam pd. p. ann.	lxvjs viijd
		Rici Jackesonne nup. incumben. Cant. sce. Katherine in ecclia pd. p. ann.	lxvjs viijd

Willi

Willi Mires nup. incumben. Cant. sci. Rochi in ecclia predca. p. ann.	lvs
Nichi Goldsmithe nup. incumben. Cant. bte. Marie in ecclia pd. p. ann.	lvs
Thome Ellerton nuper confratris ibm p. ann.	iiijli
Thome Bewley nup. incumben. Cant. bte. Marie infra ecclia. poch. de Ednell	lxs
Gawini Brathwaite nup. incumben. Cant. bte. Marie Magdalene in Crossethwaite	cs
Bernardi Hastie nup. incumben. Cant. bte. Marie in ecclia. poch. de Hoton p. ann.	vjli
Willi Markendale nup. incumben. Cant. sci. Leonardi in Bromefelde p. ann.	iiijli
Georg Lancaster nup. incumben. libe capell. voc. Saint leon'ds hospitall in poch. de Wigdon	xls
Willmi Blackett nup. presbiter. celebran. in ecclia de Salkelde magna p. ann.	xls
Johnis Thraughton nup. incumben. Cantie in ecclia. poch. de Egremound p. a.	lxvjs viijd
Willmi Lampley nup. incumben. Cantie infra Cast. de Cockermouth p. ann.	vjli
Pcivalli Whartone nup. incumben. libe capell. infra Cast. de Penrith p. ann.	vjli
Willmi Hutchinsonne nup. incumben. Cant. infra Cast. de Penrith p. ann.	cs
Willmi Browne nup. incumben. Cant. infra poch. de Wigdon p. ann.	iiijli
Willmi Lathome alter. incumben. ibm. p. ann.	cs
Willmi Haire alterius incumben. ibm. p. ann.	cs
Roberti Redshawe alterius incumben. in dco. Collegio p. ann.	cs
Sm. Omi. Soluc. in pdco Comitat. Cumbr p. annu.	ccxixli vjs viijd

The

The efforts of Queen Mary were not confined altogether in doing justice to the disestablished monks and priests, but took a wider range for the relief of the whole church. The estates of the bishops vested in the Crown were restored. The warrant for the restoration of the confiscated lands of the See of Carlisle to Bishop Oglethorpe had received the Royal sanction and was despatched to its destination. Owing to the Queen's death, however, it was never put in force. After some search in the Registry of the Bishop of Carlisle, the instrument cannot now be found, but hopes are entertained that it has been placed somewhere in the Registry for greater security and the location forgotten. It was seen by Dr. Brigstocke Sheppard in 1881 and reported upon thus for the Historical Manuscripts Commission :—

Restitution of Church Estates. A deed endorsed : " A grant to Bishop Oglethorp of certain benefices by King Phillip and Queene Mary " is the instrument by which the Queen, for the disburdening of her conscience, restores to the See of Carlisle, as she did to the other Sees of her kingdom, such of the church estates in the diocese as were vested in the Crown : having been confiscated in the 20th year of Henry VIII. This, of course, does not point to a restoration of the Abbey lands which had passed into the hands of subjects, but to the Queen's renunciation of her claim to first fruits and tenths, and to all rectories, benefices impropriate, glebe lands, tithes, oblations, and pensions which were still vested in the Crown. These estates were conveyed to Bp. Oglethorp in order that the profits of them might be applied to the augmentation of the livings to which they formerly belonged, for the increasing of poor *cures*, for furnishing preachers, and in exhibitions to poor scholars. The regrant was made in the first place by statute (2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, cap. 4,) to Cardinal Pole, who acted as representative of the Bishops of England. The payment of a sum of money, and the uneasiness of the Royal conscience are stated as the *consideration* for the grant.

> Nos, igitur, cupientes de hac cura nos penitus exonerare, et in consideratione summe vij millium librarum quam dictus Reverendissimus in Xpo. Dns. Cardinalis Polus, unacum consensu reliquorum Prelatorum, &c., sua sponte, gratissime, non

non rogatus, sed ex mera et spontanea sua voluntate, nobis obtulit . . . . . ad supportationem grandissimorum onerum per nos in defensione regni nostri sustentatorum &c.

The present instrument is dated 14th Nov. 5 and 6 Phil. and Mary. An attached memorandum certifies the fees paid to the Chancery for this concession:

The greate Seale	viij^{s} ix^{d}
Waying and enrolment	xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Wax, lace, and execution	iij^{s} iv^{d}
Velame skyns and grete lettres	x^{s}

By the "grete lettres" above mentioned are meant the capital initial letter which includes portraits of the king and queen embowered, with lions and unicorns, in Tudor roses (Ninth Report, Appendix, part i, pp. 177-8).

In three days after the issue of this warrant the Queen and Pole were dead and Elizabeth, having jibbed the sails and eased the helm of the English church, steered in another direction. It is to be hoped that Queen Mary's instrument of restitution may be soon recovered and preserved in our Registry as a memento of her gracious dealings with the diocese of Carlisle.

APPENDIX.

How many copies of these original instruments are now in existence I do not know. Burnet had seen one of them which he has printed *ex MSS. Nob. D. G. Pierpoint* (Collection of Records, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 242-246), but for what county he does not say. The following copy for Westmorland is of undoubted interest.

Q. R. SUPPRESSION PAPERS. $\frac{835}{61}$

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN WESTMORLAND.
28 Hen. VIII. (Vellum 6 pp.)

INSTRUCCIONS

INSTRUCCIONS FOR THE KYNGES Comyssioners for A newe Survey and an Inventorie to be made of all the demeane lands Goods and Catalls apptenyng to any House of Relygion of Monkes Chanons and Nunes within their Comyssion accordyng to the Articles hereafter Folowyng The nomber of the wiche Housez in euie Countie lymyttyd in their Comyssion ben Annexed to the same Comission.

HENRY R.

Comitat. } FIRST AFTER dyuysion made one Auditor one Pticler Receyvor A
Westm. } Clerke of the Register of the last Vysitacon with iii other discrete Psons to be named by the Kyng in eury Countie where eny suche Housez ben after their Repare to any such House shall declare to the Gounor & Relygious psones of the same the statute of dissolucon their Comyssion & the Cause & ppose ot their Repare for that tyme.

ITM that after this Declaracon made the seyd Comyssioners shall swere the Gounor of the Housez or suche other of the officers of the same Housez or other as they shall thynke can best declare the State & Plite of the same to make declaracon & Aunswer to the Articlez hervnder Written.

ITM of what Order Rule or Relygion the same House is & whether it be a Cell or not And if it be A Cell then the Comyssioners to delyuer to the gounor of the House a pvye Seale And also enioyne him in the Kyngs name vnder A grete payn to appire without delaye before the Chauncellor of the Augmentacon of the Reuenues of the Kyngs Crowne & the Counsell of the same And in the meane tyme not to medle with the same Cells till the Kyngs pleasure be ferther knowen.

ITM what nombr of psons of Relygion ben in the same & the Conusacon of their lyves & howmany of theym ben Priestes & howmany of theym will go to other Housez of that Relygion or howmany will take Capacyties & howmany seruants or hynds the same House Kepith comenly or what other psonez hath their lyvyng in the same House.

ITM to survey the quantytie or value of the leed & Bells of the same House as nere as they can with the Rvene Decay State & Plyte of the same.

ITM incontynently to call for the Couent Seale with all Wrytynges Charters Evydences and Mynuments concnyng eny of the possessions to be delyued to theym & to put theym in suer kepyng & to make A iuste Inuentorye bitwext theym & the gounor or other hedde officers by Indenture of the Ornaments Plate Juells Catalls redymoney Stuff of Household Corne aswell seued as not seued Stok & Store in the fermours hands & the value therof as nere as they can Which were appteynyng to the same Housez the First Day of Merche last & what Dettes the House dothe owe & to what pson & what Dettes ben owyng to theym & by Whome.

ITM

ITM after to cause the Couent or comen Seale the Plate & Juelles & redymoney to be putt in sauff Kepyng & the Residue of the pticlers especified in the Inuentory to be left in the kepyng of the gounor or some other hedde officer without Wastyng or Consumpcon of the same onles it be for necessarye expensez of the house.

ITM that they comaunde the gounor or other Receyvor of the same House to receyve no rent of their Fermors vntill they knowe ferther of the Kyngs pleasure excepte suche rentes as muste nedes be hadde for the necessarye Fyndyng or sustenance or for payment of their s'unts Wages.

ITM to survey discretely the demeanes of the same House that is to sey suche as ben not comenly vsed to be letton oute & to certifie the clere yerly value therof.

ITM to examyn the true clere yerly value of all the fermes of the same House deductyng therof Rents resoluts pencons & porcons payd out of the same synods & proxis Bailliffs Receyvors Stywards & Audytors Fees & the names of theym to Whome they ben due & none other.

ITM What leasez hath ben made to eny Fermor of the Fermes pteynyng to ye same House & what Rents is reseued & to Whom & for howmany yeres And a copy of the Indenture if they can gett it or els the Counterpane.

ITM to serche & enquyre what Wodes Parkes Forests Comons or other pffitt belongyng to eny of the possessions of the same Housez ye nombr of ye Acrez & value as nere as they can.

ITM what Bargayns graunts Sales gifts Alyenacons leasez of eny lands ten'ts & woods & offics hath ben made by eny of the seyd gounors of eny of the seyd Housez within one yere next bifore the iiijth Day of February last past & of what thyng & to what value & to Whom & for what estate.

ITM if their be eny House of eny of the Religious aforeseyd dissolued or omytted & not certyfied in the Eschequyer then the seyd Comyssioners to survey the same & to make ctificate accordyngly.

ITM that they straytly comaunde euy gounor of euy House lymytted to their Comyssion to sowe & till their grounde as they haue done bifore till the Kyngs pleasure be ferther knowen.

ITM euy of the seyd Comyssioners havyng in charge to survey more then one shire within the lymytt of their Comyssion ymmedyatly after that they haue pvsed one Shire pcell of their Charge in Forme aforeseyd shall sende to the Chauncellor of the Courte of the Augmentacon of the Reuenues of the Kyngs Crowne A brief ctificate of all their Comptes accordyng the Instruccons aforeseyd what they haue done in ye

ye pmyssez & in euy Countie so surveyed then to pcede ferther to Another Countie & as they passe the seyd Counties to make lyke certificate & so forth till their lymyttes be surueyed & ther to remayn till they knowe ferther of the Kyngs pleasure.

ITM if the seyd Comyssioners haue but one Countie in Charge then to certifie the seyd Chauncellor in forme aforeseyd & ther to remayn till they knowe ferther of the Kyngs pleasure.

ITM if ther be eny House gyuen by the Kynge to any pson in eny of the seyd seuall lymytts of the seyd Comyssion the names Wherof shalbe declared to the seyd Comyssioners then the seyd Comyssioners immedyatly shall take the Couent seale from the Gounor & take an Inuentorye indented of the leed Bells detts Catalls plate Juells ornaments stok & store to the Kyngs vse & to make sale of ye goods Catalls & other Implements plate & Juells only excepted.

ITM the Comyssioners in euy suche House to sende suche of the Relygious psons that Will remayn in ye same Relygion to some other grete House of that relygion by their discrecons with a lre to the gounor for the Receipt of theym & ye resydue of theym that will go to ye World to send theym to my lord of Canterbury & the lord Chauncellor of Englonde for their capacyties wt ye lre of ye same Comyssioners.

ITM the seyd Comyssioners to geue to the seyd psons that will haue Capacyties some reasonable Rewarde accordyng to the Distaunce of the place by their Discrecyons to be appoynted.

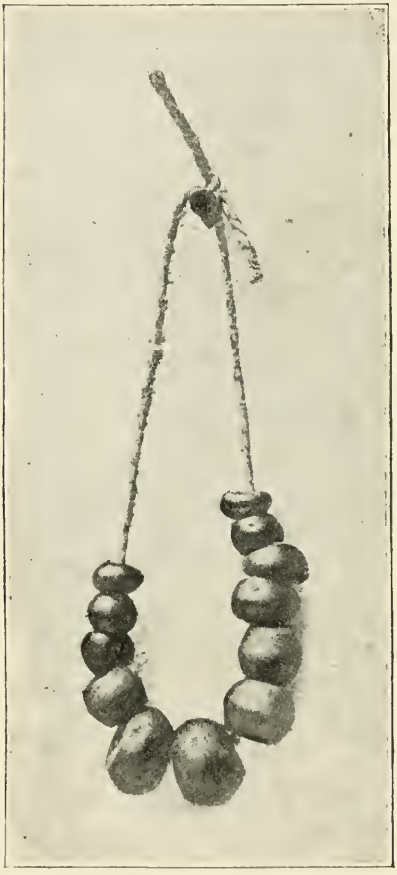
ITM the seyd Comyssioners to comaunde the gounor to resorte to the Chauncellor of the Augmentacon for His yerly Stypende or pencon.
ITM if there be eny House dissolued or gyven vp to the Kynge by their Dede then the Comyssioners shall order theym selffes therin in euy poynte & prpose as of the Housez gyuen by the Kynge to eny other person in Forme aforeseyd

ITM if it happen to the seyd Comyssioners that eny of the seyd housez within their lmyytts be of the order of the Gilbdyns that then they shall no ferther pcede but enioyne the gounor of the same Housez that they with all Celeritie do appire bifore ye Chauncellor & Counsell of ye Courte of Augmentacon at Westmer where they shall knowe ferther of the Kyngs pleasure.

(Remaining leaves blank, but cover endorsed)—

ROKESBY:

A Comission & instruccons
for ye Survey of Religious
Houses in the North.



TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS.—BEADS.

TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS.—INCENSE CUP.

ART. XXVIII.—*On a Tumulus at Old Parks, Kirkoswald: with some Remarks on One at Aspatria, and also on Cup, Ring, and other Rock Markings in Cumberland and Westmorland.* By the President, CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Communicated at Lake Side, Windermere, June 13th, 1894.

ON the 21st of September, 1892,* I exhibited to this Society at Seascale, by the kindness of Mr. W. Potter of Old Parks, Kirkoswald, a small vessel of coarse earthenware of the kind known as "incense cups," (see Plate II.) which had been found in a large mound of stones close to Mr. Potter's farm in a field called, significantly, "Low Field,"—a name which was taken by the few who knew it to refer to the position of the field itself, and not to any mound or burial place in it †: the mound, indeed, was by many supposed to be a mere clearance heap, and as such it was sold to the County Council of Cumberland for road metal. In course of removing the stones, the incense cup exhibited at Seascale was found, and shortly afterwards was brought to my notice by Mr. Potter. In consequence of this I visited the mound in 1892 in company with the Rev. H. A. Macpherson and Mr. Potter: about 30 cartloads of stones had then been removed from the extreme circumference of the mound on the north side: during the removal, the incense cup already mentioned as having been exhibited at Seascale was found; also some fragments of a large urn, and some bits of calcined bone. On the occasion of this visit, we

* These Transactions, vol. xii, p. 275.

† *Hlæw, hláw,* what covers, a grave, heap, a small hill. A tract of ground gently rising, a low.—Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.*

dug

dug into the centre of the mound, where some large slabs of stone were lying about, and partially exposed a large earthfast stone, which we took to be part of a ruined cist.* On it we observed a curious artificial mark or grooving. Near it we found two or three vertebra and a fragment of a skull, none of which were human. We found also a very little charcoal, and some stones that had been subject to the action of fire.

At the time of our visit in 1892 the work of leading away the stones had been suspended, and it was not resumed until after a very considerable interval. Towards the end of last year Mr. Potter informed me that a second incense cup (see Plate III.) had been found, with twelve small beads inside† of it (see Plate I.) and also urged me to pay another visit to the place: this I was very eager to do, though prevented by various circumstances, until July of the present year [1894], when I went, accompanied by Mr. Potter, and by the Rev. Canon Thornley, the vicar of Kirkoswald. At a much earlier period, I had, however, sent out a photographer, whose pictures are reproduced with this paper. (Plates I. to VIII.)

Between my first and second visit about 600 cartloads of stones had been removed, and the site was virtually cleared, though a considerable heap was still remaining

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* Transactions, vol. xii, p. 276, where I erroneously stated we had found a ruined cist: it will be seen we were in error.

† The question has been asked me by a distinguished antiquary "Is the finding of those beads *in* the incense cup strictly authenticated?" I wrote to Mr. Potter. The following is his reply:

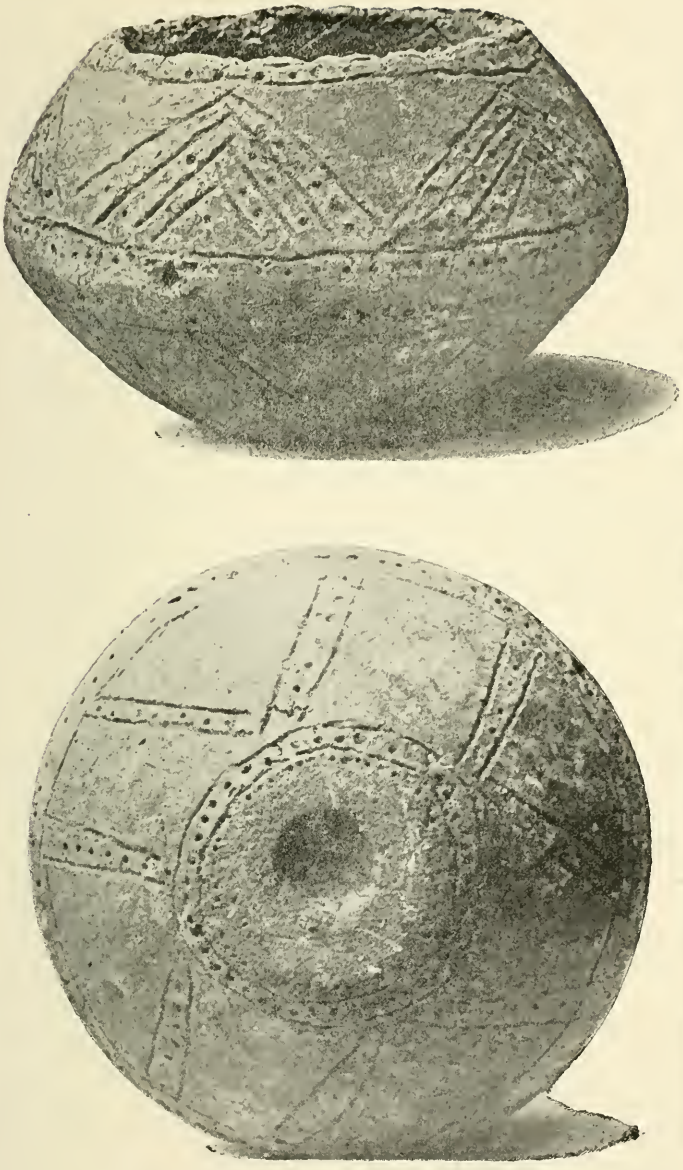
The Parks, Kirkoswald,
October 15th, 1894.

Dear Mr. Ferguson,—

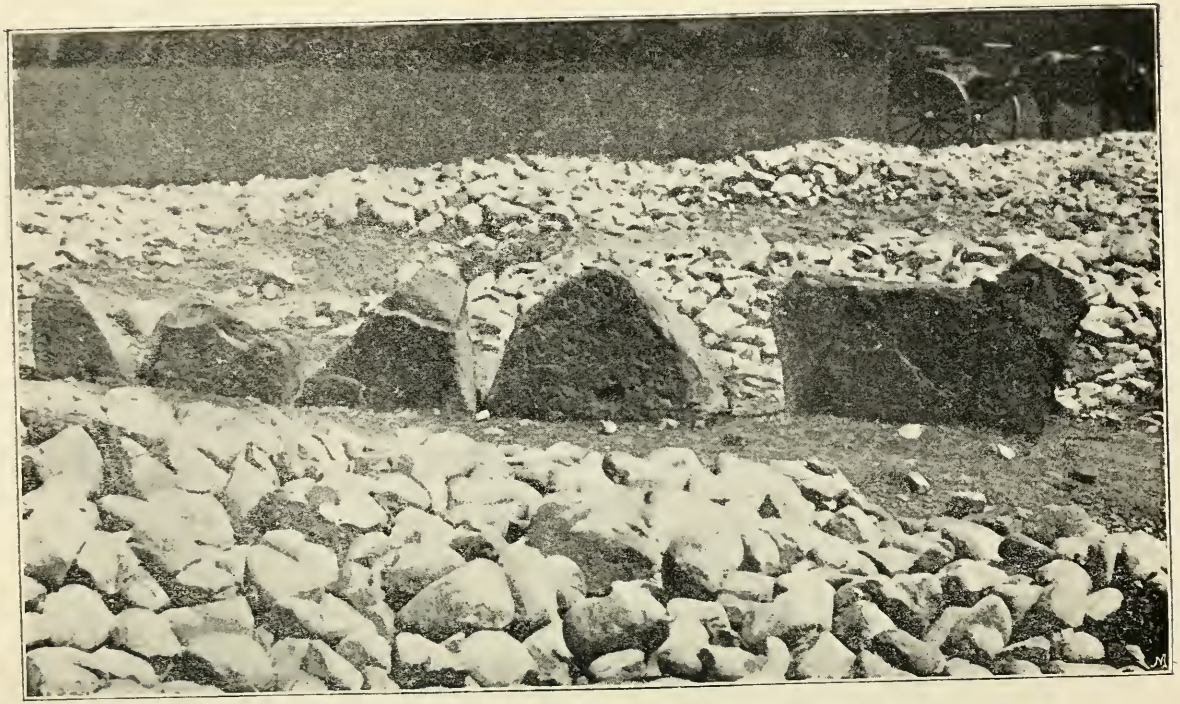
There is *no doubt whatever* about the 12 beads being found *inside* the larger incense cup. I found the cup myself, and it was never out of my sight, and scarcely out of my hands until I took it home. It was my intention to send it on to you with its contents undisturbed, but Mrs. Potter, with the curiosity of the sex, got to poking in it with a hairpin and discovered some of the beads, and I then emptied it out and found the remainder.

Very truly yours,
Wm. Potter.

on



TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS.—INCENSE CUP.



No. 1. No. 2. No. 3. No. 4. No. 5.

TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS, showing West Side of the dividing line of earthfast Stones.

No. 5. No. 4. No. 3. No. 2. No. 1.

TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS, showing East Side of dividing line of earthfast Stones.

on the west side, awaiting removal * The stones, it may here be remarked, were mainly of a local sandstone.

The cleared site was roughly oval with a longer diameter of 80 feet, and a shorter of 63 feet, † the longer diameter running east and west. It may be well to mention that before the mound was touched, its height was about four feet above the level of the adjacent ground, and that it was somewhat depressed in the centre. Mr. Potter is of opinion that the mound had in modern times been used as a clearance heap, which might account for the irregular outline. A large tree which grew a little within the circumference of the mound on the south side had been cut down and uprooted during the clearance.

Running in a straight line from north to south across the centre of the cleared area are five slabs of rough stone, set in the natural surface of the ground, but not very deep, forming a row 14 feet 9 inches long measured on the ground. (See Plates IV. and V.) The following are their dimensions, taking the most northerly stone to be No. 1:

	Length along the ground.	Height.	Thickness.
No. 1.	1ft. 8in.	1ft. 1in.	4in.
No. 2.	2ft. 6in.	1ft. 5in.	6in.
No. 3.	2ft. 7in.	2ft.	8in.
No. 4.	3ft. 2in.	1ft. 9in.	7in.
No. 5.	3ft. 1in.	1ft. 10in.	5in.

The height given for No. 5 is taken at its middle, but its southern corner stands 2 feet 4 inches above the ground, and it was this stone that on our visit, in 1892, we took to be part of a ruined cist.

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* Nothing like such a heap as is shown in the photographs, much carting having been done between the photographer's visit and mine.

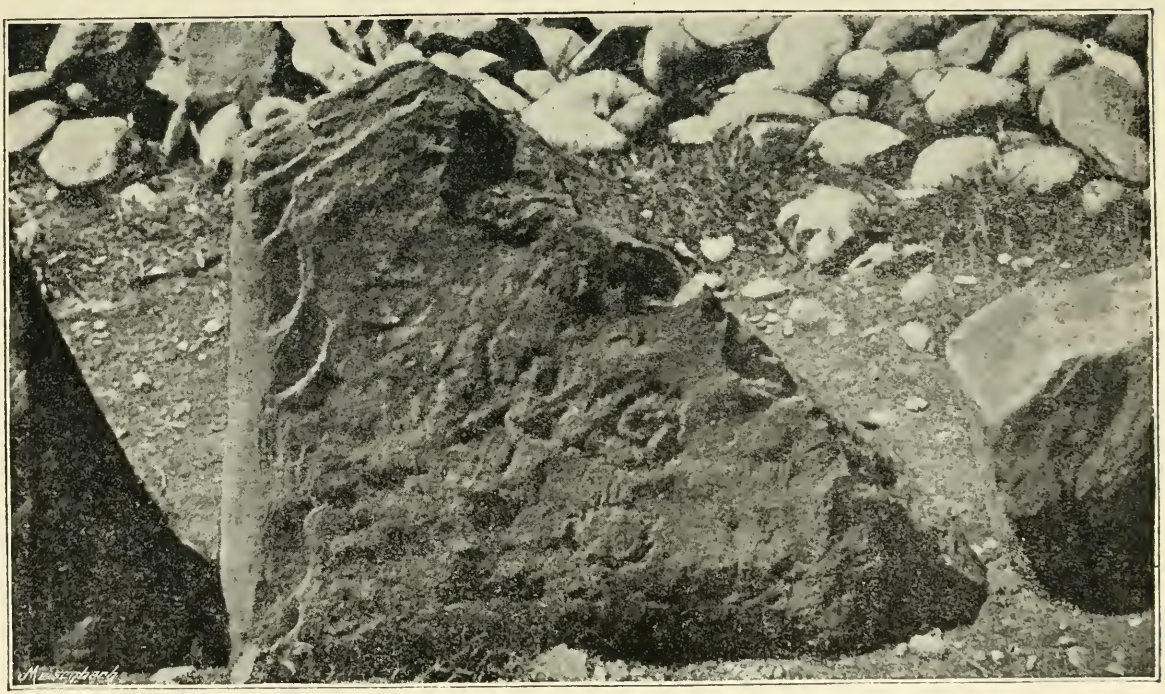
† At Seascale I stated it to be roughly circular with diameter of 77 feet: the more recent measurements were made with a tape.

Of

Of these stones Nos. 3 and 5 have artificial grooves and markings on their east sides (see Plates VI. and VIII.), and No. 3 on its west side (see Plate VII.): these markings continue into the ground, and show that they were upon the stones before the stones were set in their present positions. But the freshness of the pick or chisel marks in the grooves proves that these stones cannot have been long exposed to weather.

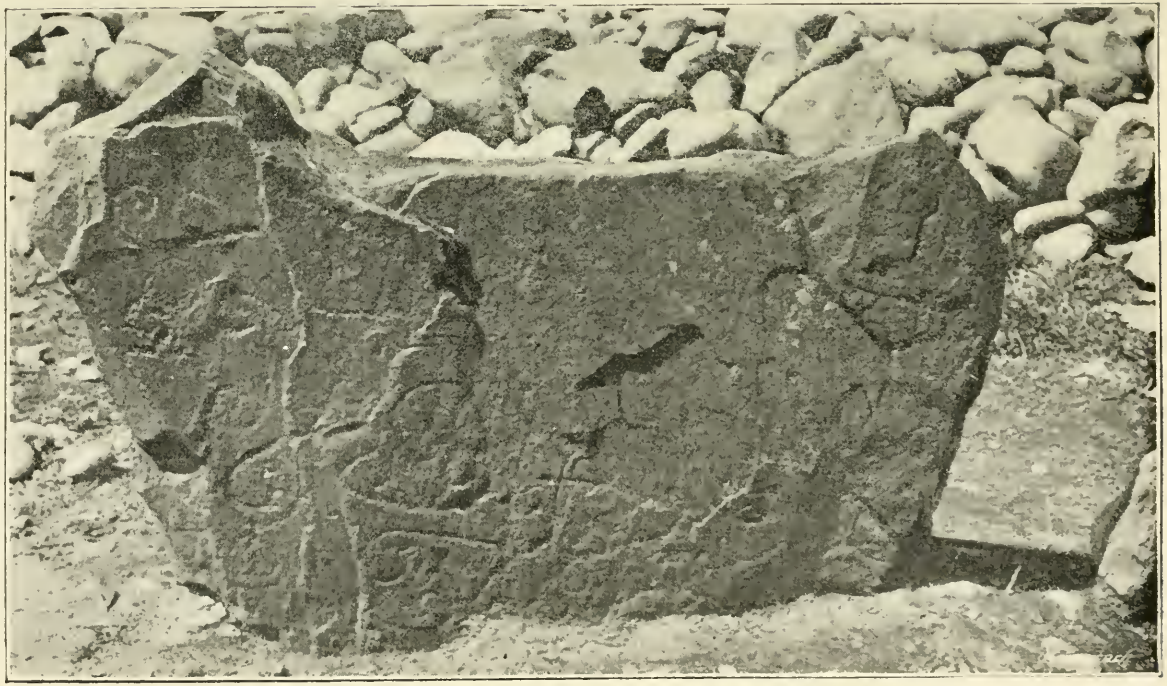
This row of stones, thus, divides the area of the mound or tumulus, roughly, into two halves, semi-circles, or rather semi-ovals

In the western half of the area no less than thirty-two deposits of burnt bones were discovered: they were in holes scooped out of the natural surface of the ground, and in some cases were accompanied by fragments of broken urns, and also by stones showing traces of fire. The first incense cup already mentioned (see Plate II.) was found near the north end of the line dividing the two semi-circles or ovals (the continuation of the line of five earthfast stones). A second and much superior incense cup (see Plate III.) was found a little westward of the first, and in it were twelve small beads (see Plate I.) which Mr. J. G. Goodchild, F.G.S., F.Z.S., pronounces to be made of cannel coal. Near to where the second incense cup was found, a flat stone covered one of the thirty-two interments, a protection that was not accorded to others of them. These interments were dotted about the area of the semi-oval, but mainly towards the circumference. Under the roots of the tree, stated to have been growing on the south side of the mound, a large burial urn was found, full of burnt bones. It is much distorted by pressure, but was got out perfect or nearly so: it stands 1 foot $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, with a diameter of five inches at the bottom, and of 1 foot 1 inch by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the mouth, which has been distorted into an oval. The ornamentation on it is rude and much worn. Fragments of similar urns



TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS: East Side of Stone No. 3.

TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS: showing West Side of Stone No. 4.



TUMULUS AT OLD PARKS: showing East Side of Stone No. 5.

urns were found among the bones in some of the interments, and also fragments of urns of smaller and thinner paste, being probably of the class known as drinking cups.

The eastern half of the area contained no interments, but two large excavations had been made into the original soil: both ran east and west, and much resembled modern graves. The larger was 8 feet 3 inches long by 4 feet 9 inches wide and 4 feet 3 inches deep: the other was smaller, about the dimensions of an ordinary grave of the present day, but had been filled up before my visit, partly by the workmen, but mostly by a violent thunderstorm. Both, when first discovered, were filled up with cobble stones, and in a corner of the larger, under a flagstone, were some burnt bones and ashes.

It would seem that the excavations in the eastern half of the mound must have contained burials by inhumation in an extended position, the bodies lying east and west, and having long ago wholly disappeared; while the bones and ashes found there under a flagstone must have been a secondary interment of later date. These two burials by inhumation, four feet deep below the original surface, must have been the original interments over which the *tumulus* or *low* was raised: the question arises, what is the date of the thirty-two interments by cremation in the western half of the mound, and what is the meaning of the wall of separation, and of the mysterious grooves and marks cut on the east side of two of the stones, and on the west side of one of them? One can hardly imagine the interments after cremation to have been simultaneous with the two by inhumation, unless there had been a wholesale slaughter of slaves and dependents at the time of the inhumation. It would be more probable that they were made subsequently and at different times. Dr. Thurnam (Archæologia, vol. xliii, pp. 328-331,) gives instances of central primary interments by inhumation with secondary interments after cremation lying on or towards the circumference

cumference of the barrows towards the south side, while the north is vacant, but in the instance before us they lie towards the west, and the east is vacant. Many instances of burial by inhumation, and of burial after cremation in the same *tumulus* are given in Greenwell and Rolleston's *British Barrows*. No pottery except what has been mentioned: no personal relics, except the twelve rude beads of cannel coal were found to our knowledge, but there might have been. The removal of the *tumulus* occupied, intermittently, over two years, and was effected at such chance times as the work of a large farm and the weather left men and horses otherwise free. Hence continuous scientific supervision was impossible: but archæologists are much indebted to Mr. Potter for the care he took to record, secure, and preserve everything.

A granite monolith stands in the next field 106 yards due west from the circumference of the *tumulus*: it stands 4 feet 7 inches high, and is 13 feet in circumference at the ground level: we did not detect any artificial markings upon it.

Not very far distant on the estate of Messrs. Rowley in a field called Grazing Land, is another large *tumulus* of stones: standing on it, one can trace a stone circle or fence within its circumference.* It would probably repay investigation, but such would be a very expensive piece of work.

The occurrence of cup, ring, and groove marked stones is not without precedent in Cumberland and Westmorland. Indeed the first discovery of them was made at Aspatria in Cumberland in the month of June, 1789, and is reported by Major Hayman Rooke in a letter dated 17th December in that year, and read before the Society of Antiquaries of London, February, 4th, 1790.† The

* See Greenwell and Rolleston, *British Barrows*, pp. 7-8.

† *Archæologia*, vol. x, pp. 105, 111, 113. See also Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, vol. ii. pp. 287-288, n.

following

following is Major Rooke's account of the circumstances of the find, which, be it observed, is not from personal observation, but from information supplied to him by Mr. Rigg, the proprietor of the land on which stood the barrow or *tumulus*, during whose opening the discovery was made. The Major had an inspection of the objects found and sketched them.

About two hundred yards north of the village, and just behind his house (Mr. Rigg's) is a rising ground called *Beacon Hill*, on the summit of which the barrow was placed, commanding an extensive view every way, and of course a very proper situation for a beacon, which was probably erected on the barrow. In levelling this (the base of which I found to have been 90 feet in circumference) they removed six feet of earth to the natural soil, and about three feet below they found a vault formed with two large cobble stones at each side, and one at each side (*sic*). In it was the skeleton of a man which measured seven feet from the head to the ankle bone; the feet were decayed and rotted off. The bones at first appeared perfect, but when exposed to the air became very brittle. On the left side near the shoulder was a broad sword near five feet in length: the guard was elegantly ornamented with silver flowers. On the right side lay a dirk or dagger, one foot six inches and a quarter in length, the handle appeared to have been studded with gold. Near the dagger was found part of a gold fibula or buckle, and an ornament for the end of a belt, a piece of which adhered to it when first taken up. . . . Several pieces of a shield were picked up, but I did not see parts sufficient to make out the shape. There were also part of a battle axe, . . a bit shaped like a modern snaffle, part of a spur. These were very much corroded with rust. H and I * are the two large cobble stones, which inclosed the west side of the kistvaen. H is two feet eight inches in length; I is three feet in length, and one foot eight inches high. On these stones are various emblematic figures in rude sculpture, though some of the circles are exactly formed, and the rims and crosses within them are *cut in relief*. †

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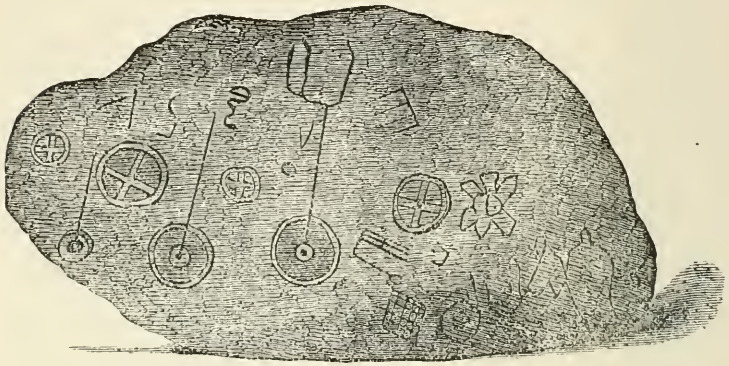
* These letters refer to the plate of illustrations given in the *Archæologia*, and reproduced in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*. We have omitted the other references as immaterial to the subject of this paper.

† These last ten words have been a stumbling block to Sir James Y. Simpson (*On Ancient Sculpturings of Cups and Concentric Rings, &c.*, p. 120, n., Appendix Proceedings, S.A.S., 1st series vol vi.,) and to Dr. M. W. Taylor, F.S.A.,

We

We reproduce, from Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, one of the two side stones, so that their similarity to the stones at Old Parks is at once seen. Major Rooke takes the circles upon the Aspatria stones to be emblems of eternity, and from the circles and crosses he concludes the interment to be that of a person of rank



SIDE STONE, ASPATRIA CIST.

after the year A.D. 596, when Augustine the monk brought Christianity to Britain. We need not linger to argue the question with the Major's shade; his theory will hardly find a supporter at the present day. * The relics,

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(these Transactions, vol. vi, p. 112,) who incline to consider the Aspatria stones as apocryphal, or at any rate of a different class to such as were found at Old Parks. But Sir James says the Aspatria find was "casually described" by the Major, and I think the Major has been rather more casual than usual, and that these last words are an error either of observation or of memory. Under this belief, we have no hesitation in putting the Aspatria stones into the same class as the Old Park ones. Mr. James Fergusson in his *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 157, reproduces Rooke's sketch of one of the side stones: he has no doubt that it belongs to the class under discussion, and asserts from it that the class may be of the Viking Age. There is a rude flower-like figure on one of these stones: a similar figure is to be seen on a stone in County Meath. See Proc: S.A.S., 3rd series, vol. iii, fig: 27, and p. 309. By kind permission of John Murray, 50, Albemarle Street, through Mr. A. H. Hallam Murray, we reproduce Fergusson's illustration of one of the Aspatria cobbles.

* The compiler of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, vol. ii, p. 288, n, goes one beyond the Major, and asserts the marks on the Aspatria stones to be "magical numbers and figures, the work of ignorant sorcerers and wicked wretches," who inserted these things in the graves of bye-gone races in order to secure the obedience of the evil spirits that dwelt therein. He classifies the other

PLATE IX. LONG MEG.

PLATE X. THE MAUGHANBY STONE.

other than the cobble stones, found at Aspatria, are such as one would expect to find in a Northman's grave, and probably mark the interment as a result of the settlement of Cumberland by the Northmen. *

The next recorded discovery of these cup and ring and other rock markings in Cumberland was made by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson in 1835 on the well-known monolith Long Meg, where he found a concentric circle with four rings around a cupped centre. † At a later date Sir J. Y. Simpson and Dr. Taylor visited Long Meg and found not one, but several concentric circles carved thereon. ‡ The stone circle so well known as " Long Meg and her daughters " is situate in the parish of Addingham, which is immediately to the south of Kirkoswald: Long Meg, as the crow flies, can only be distant from the Old Parks *tumulus* about a mile and a half. §

About the same time that Sir James Simpson discovered the circles on Long Meg, the Rev. Canon Simpson, formerly president of this Society, found some ring cuttings on two boulders forming part of a circle of eleven stones around a cist, situated a few hundred yards to the east of Long Meg. ‖

Aspatria stones with two brass plates found in a *tumulus* at Gilling in Yorkshire; on one side of each these brass plates is a magic square, and on the other a curse on some people named Philip, of the date, by the handwriting, of James I.

* Ferguson's *Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland*. See also Sir J. Y. Simpson and Dr. Taylor cited *ut ante*.

† British Archæological Journal, vol. xvi, pp. 101-118, with illustration.

‡ *On Ancient Sculpturings, &c., ut ante*, pp. 17-18, with illustration. These Transactions, vol. vi, p. 111.

§ For an account of Long Meg and her daughters," with survey by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., see these Transactions, vol. v, p. 40; *British Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 31-36. Long Meg is sometimes stated to be in the parish of Great Salkeld, an error which arises from its being near to Little Salkeld, in the Parish of Addingham.

‖ Proc: S.A., 2nd series, vol. iii, pp. 211-213. Also *On Ancient Sculpturing, &c., ut ante*, pp. 18-19. This cairn is in a field called Whins, in the township of Maughanby, in the parish of Addingham, and is often spoken of as at Maughanby. By the kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, we reproduce, from Sir James Simpson's paper, the illustrations of Long Meg and of the Maughanby Stone, showing the markings.

Ring

Ring cuttings have been observed on two of the stones at Shap, one of which is a stone in a field called Asper's Field, and the other is the "Goggleby Stone": these are recorded by Sir James Simpson * One, a cup, was found by Dr. Taylor on a stone at Hugill, near Staveley. †

The most remarkable cup-marked stone ever discovered in Cumberland or Westmorland was found in 1881 by Dr. Taylor at Redlands, in the township of Stainton, in Cumberland, about two miles from Penrith. It is a large slab of freestone, 5 feet 4 inches in length by 3 feet 6 inches in width in the centre, and it varies from eight inches to thirteen inches in thickness. It is fully described in these Transactions by Dr. Taylor, who gives an illustration. ‡ It formed the cover of a cist, which had contained an interment after cremation. The markings upon it display four types—(1). Cup-shaped hollows of various sizes and depths: (2). Central hollowed cones surrounded by two concentric circles, each bisected by a radial groove: (3). Hollowed channels like gutters running in various directions: (4). Little pits or small pick marks in the stone.

One of the two monoliths known as the Giant's Grave, at Lacra, in south-west Cumberland, has on it a well-defined cup mark. § Some cup and ring marked stones were found at Maryport, in 1887, by Mr. J. B. Bailey. ‖

We have thus brought together all the known instances of cup, ring, and groove markings in Cumberland and Westmorland. Two questions arise upon them: What do they mean? What is their date? They are not peculiar to these two counties. "They are," says Dr. Anderson, "not confined to Scotland, or even to Britain. They are found in Scandinavia, in France, in Germany,

* *On Ancient Sculpturing, &c., ut ante, p.* 20, plate xvii.
† These Transactions, vol vi, pp. 90-111.
‡ These Transactions, vol. vi, pp. 110-118: Proc: S.A.S., vol. xvi, p. 438.
§ These Transactions, vol. i, pp. 278-280.
‖ These Transactions, vol. ix, pp. 435-438, where an illustration is given.

and

and Switzerland. They appear on the Continent in associations which refer them to the Bronze Age at least, but they also occur in associations which show that the custom survived to the late Iron Age, and even in a modified form to Christian times."* Sir James Simpson and Dr. Taylor would refer their commencement at least to the late stone age.

As to what they are, Dr. Anderson says "they are one of the enigmas of archæology." Canon Greenwell says:

In many cases these markings occur upon rocks, but they have been very frequently found upon detached stones of greater or less size, and in a large number of instances, . . . they are connected with burials after cremation; sometimes covering the deposit of bones, sometimes placed beneath it, and sometimes forming the side or cover of a cist within which the bones were deposited. This connection with burial, always a sacred rite, seems to bring them within the class of symbolic representations; in other words, suggests the notion that they are or may have been figures after a very rude and conventional manner, of some object embodying an idea that involved the deepest and most esoteric principle of the religion held by these people. The tau symbol of Egypt, the pine-cone of Assyria, the triangular-shaped stone of India, the cross of Christianity, outward expressions of that which has been in almost every religion its most sacred belief, may well have been, however different in form, yet the same in essence with these mysterious pits and circles.†

APPENDIX.

For the general bibliography of this subject the reader should consult "Notes on some Stones with Cup-markings in Scotland," by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., Scot., in Proc: S.A.S., vol. xvi, pp. 79-143. Also a paper by W. Jolly, F.A.S., Scot., in the same volume, "On Cup-marked Stones in the Neighbourhood of Inverness," pp. 300-401. See also "The Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland," by Geo. Tate, Alnwick, 1865.

* *Scotland in Pagan Times. The Iron Age*, p. 299.
† *British Barrows*, Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 343.

ART. XXIX.—*On some additional Seals of the Bishops of Carlisle.* By Mrs. HENRY WARE.

Communicated at Lake Side, June 13, 1894.

SINCE the publication of my paper on the Seals of the Bishops of Carlisle (see Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, vol. xii, page 212); I have received a few additions to the collection, four of which have been thought worth engraving.

No. 1. Seal of dignity of Ralph de Irton, 1280-1292. This is a repetition of the seal already engraved on plate 2, fig: 6, but is in better condition. The original is in the Bodleian Library.

No. 2. Counterseal of Ralph de Irton. A beautiful specimen of 13th century work. It is a pointed oval, 1½ inches long. Legend:

VIRGO IHV NVTX
RADULPHO SIS PIA TVTRIX

(Virgo Jesu nutrix
Radulpho sis pia tutrix)

Device: Under a simple gothic canopy the Bishop kneels before a standing figure of the Blessed Virgin holding the Divine child in her arms. The field is plain, but charged on one side with the sun and moon.

The original is amongst the detached seals in the Public Record Office.

No. 3 and No. 4 are both seals of dignity of John de Halton, 1292-1325. No. 3 is a repetition of the very imperfect seal already engraved, plate 2, fig: 7. The front of the building which forms the canopy for the Bishop

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

Bishop is interesting, and probably represents his cathedral, which was burnt in 1292. Legend :

S. JOHIS DEI GRA KAR
LEOLENSIS EPISCOPI.

The original of this seal is in the Public Record office amongst the detached seals, "A. to M." series, so its date is not known, but it is probably from the same matrix as the one already engraved, the date of which is 1293.

No. 4 has not been engraved before; about a third of it is missing, but what is left is in excellent condition. It is a pointed oval, three inches long. Half the legend is wanting, the remainder reads :

RLI OLENSIS EPISCOPI.

Device : The Bishop stands under a canopy supported upon pillars, the top of which has perished, he is in the attitude of blessing, with the crozier in the left hand; his vestments are the same as in the former seal, but the rationale is wanting. The field is plain, but outside the canopy on the dexter side is the Bishop's name IOH. The original is in the Library at Durham, attached to a deed dated 1315. It is, therefore, later than the seal described above, and the Bishop must have had some reason for changing his seal; as the rationale was going out of fashion at this time, it is possible that he had a new seal made to represent him without that decoration.

I have also received the Seal of John de Ross, 1325-1332, but it is too much damaged to engrave. The Bishop is represented in the attitude of blessing; Johannis is the only legible word in the legend.

ART. XXX.—*Bone Spear or Harpoon Head from Terra del Fuego, found on peat near Crosby-on-Eden.* By T. H. HODGSON.

Read at Douglas, September 25, 1894.

THE bone spear head, of which a drawing is here given (Plate I.) was found about the year 1875 by Charles Bryan, gardener at Newby Grange. He put it by, and only mentioned it when he was reminded of it by the excavations of the Roman wall in the summer of 1894. Another was found with it of similar size and shape, but having serrated edges, this has, unfortunately, been lost. They were found in the flat ground, immediately below what is evidently the bank of an ancient estuary; the soil is peat, imbedded in which are numerous trunks of large trees, principally oak. They were lying on the surface of the peat; it was a very dry summer, and it is probable that they had been exposed by the shrinkage of the peat. The field is a very secluded one, distant from roads or houses, and seldom visited, and it is difficult to suppose that there is any possibility of them having been brought there recently. I have no knowledge of the field having been ploughed, and there is no sign that it has been, indeed most of the flat ground where the spear head was found would not bear the weight of the horses until it was recently drained—much of it would not carry them now.*

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The missing harpoon head has since turned up, and is depicted in Plate II. Both of them were exhibited at Burlington House, before the Society of Antiquaries, on December 6th, 1894, and were unhesitatingly pronounced by Sir A. W. Franks, K.C.B., Sir John Evans, K.C.B, and Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., to be typical specimens of harpoon heads in use at the present day by the natives of Terra del Fuego. How they came to be lying on a peat bog in Cumberland, in or about 1875, is at present a mystery.

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*A field road leads from the east angle of the field in which the harpoon leads to a point midway between Newby Grange and Batthouse.—Ordnance Map (6 inch) Sheet 17, S.W.

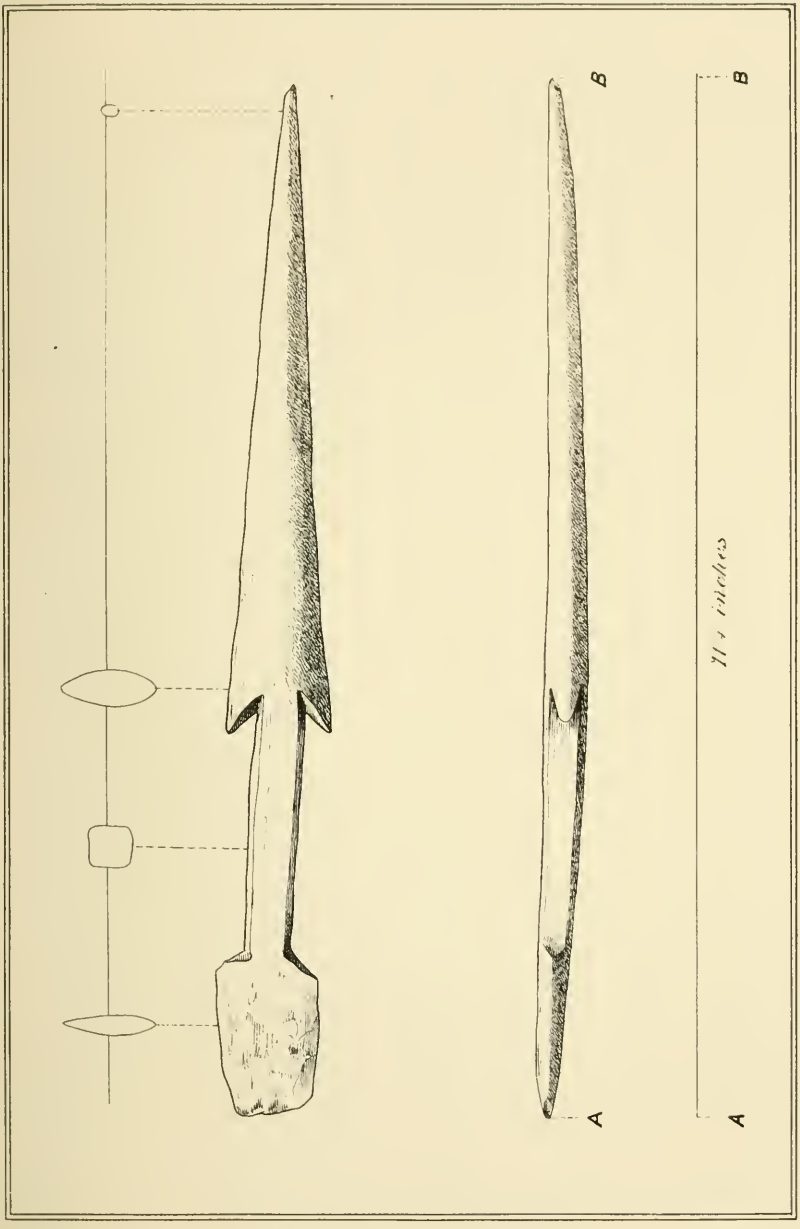

PLATE I. BONE HARPOON HEAD.

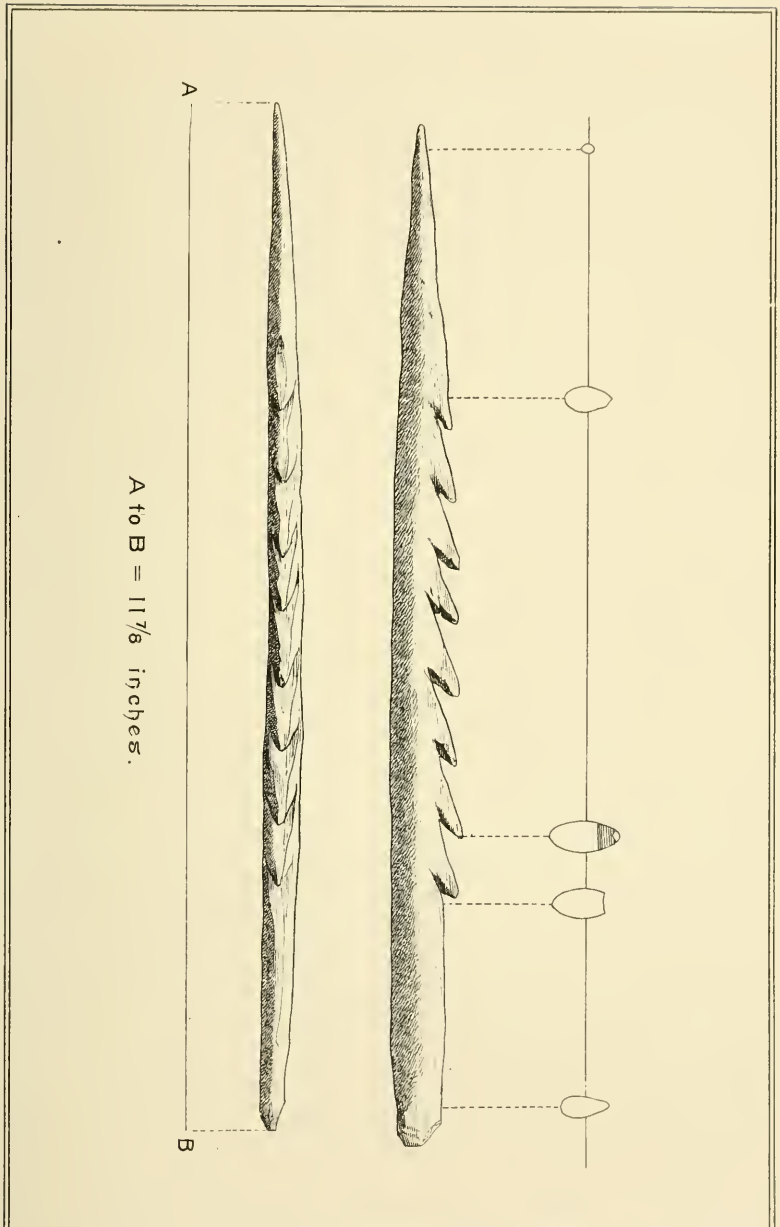

PLATE II. BONE HARPOON HEAD.

ART. XXXI.—*Some Manx Names in Cumbria.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., with notes by Mr. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON.

Read at Douglas, September 24th, 1894.

WE have often heard, since the days of Worsaae, that our district owes its population mainly to the Northern Vikings, who infested the Irish sea in the 9th and 10th centuries. It has been thought by Mr. Robert Ferguson, Mr. J. R. Green, our President, and other writers, that they came into the Solway and Morecambe Bay from headquarters in the Isle of Man. That theory may find support from a comparision of some Manx place-names with similar names in Cumberland and adjacent parts.

A few analogies have been noticed in print. The Rev. T. Ellwood mentions the two Fleshwicks, from *Fles*, in Icelandic "a grassy place," and *vík*, "a creek." In his book on "The Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man," Mr. A. W. Moore compares :—

I.O.M. Piel, with our Pile-of-Fouldrey.
,, Scarsdale, with our Scarfgap (*Skarð*, notch, pass).
,, Cammall, with our Camfell (*Kambr*, comb).
,, Colby, with our Colby (*Kollr*, hill-top).
,, Surby, with our Sowerby (*Saurr*, mud).
,, Kirby, with our Kirkby (*Kirkjubœr*).

And Mr. Moore remarks that, of the Scandinavian elements which are common in our local names and dialect, some—namely, Haugh, Dale, Fell, Garth, Gill, Wick, Way (*vagr*), Ness, Toft and Thorp—are found in the Island; while some—namely, Thwaite, Beck, With, Tarn and Force—are absent ; from which he infers that the Isle

Isle of Man is less purely Norse, and more Danish, than Cumbria. But his book, with its full account of Manx names, gives us material for carrying the comparison further.

There are three classes of words to consider :—A, Celtic ; B, Scandinavian ; C, mixed—the last class containing some curious examples of loan-words from the Celtic to the Scandinavian.

A.—Celtic Names.

The Celtic words, common in the Isle of Man where the Vikings became Celticised, are rare with us, where the settlers kept their own tongue until they became Anglicised. Carrock and Cark match the Manx Carrick, "rocky"; Glencoin, "narrow valley," resembles Nascoin, "narrow waterfall"; Morecambe and Cambeck are like Glencam, with a common element—*cam*, "crooked"; our Crummock, though commonly interpreted Crumbeck, may be the same with the Manx and Galloway Crammag, "cliff." But most of our Celtic names are Welsh, since Cumberland was the land of the Cymru. The earlier Gaelic element was partly crowded out ; though traces of it returned with the Viking settlers, as I think to show.

Before their age, however, we have a few Gaelic importations. For, just as the Irish monks preceded the Vikings in the Hebrides and in Ireland, so they did in these parts ; no doubt using the Isle of Man as a stepping stone across the sea. The Manx church of St. Bridget, Kirkbride, matches our Kirkbride and Bridekirk : there is Kirksanton in both districts ; and perhaps St. Sunday's Beck and Crag in Westmorland may be explained by the Irish Saint Sanctan : for in Domesday Kirksanton is written Santacherche, and Santon is Suntun, which bridges over the transition from *Sanctan* to *Sunday*.

The Manx *keeills* have Cumbrian analogies in Gilcrux and Gilcarron ; and perhaps in two old names, "Gillmartyne

martyne ridding prope Crofton" (*temp.* John), and Killerwick (*temp.* Ed. III.) near Mousell in Furness, which I venture to suggest may be the puzzling Chiluestreuic of Domesday: *vestr vegr* meaning the west road, the Roman road on which it stands. All these churches and cells are near the coast, where such missionaries might have settled. St. Patrick himself, to whom there are dedications in the Isle of Man, is commemorated in Waspatrick, (*temp.* Ed. I.), his "wath" over the Wampool; and, on the same Roman Road, at Askpatryk (*temp.* Ed. III.) perhaps embalming some otherwise lost tradition of an ash-tree under which he preached; as at Patterdale is the well where he is said to have baptised. In the Isle of Man also we find Ash-tree and Well connected in Chibber Unjin, when the tree was formerly dressed with votive offerings. This custom survives with us; a great oak-tree overhanging a fountain at Satterthwaite was dressed with crockery and coloured rags on Maundy Thursday a year ago, and another at Hawkshead Hill.

But these church-names belong to an age before the Vikings came. They brought their own heathen worship, of which we find traces in both districts. And this leads us to the second class of words, namely—

B.—Scandinavian Names.

In 1134, Bertrannus de *London* was one of 12 monks, who, with their abbot, Gerald, founded Calder. The Rev. A. G. Loftie, in his guide to the Abbey, remarks on the strangeness to this exiled Londoner of his new life and surroundings among rough neighbours and brethren, north-countrymen all. But again (*temp.* Ed. III.), William de *London* neglected to pay his "thrave" to St. Nicholas' Hospital at Carlisle; and the Testamenta Karliolensia show that the "de Londons" were a family of some local importance, without any suggestion of a connection with the great city. Now, we all know places whose names are

are derived, like similar names in Denmark, Sweden, and Iceland, from the *Lundr* or sacred grove of the Northmen: —Lund, near Whitehaven; another near Ulverston; and Hoff Lund, near Appleby. But in the Isle of Man there is a "Little London," which Mr. Moore derives from *Lundinn*, (*acc.*) "*the* grove." This name, which is found also in Lincolnshire and in Longsleddale, is practically the same as *Lund*, and suggests that we may look for the "London" of Friar Bertram not far from his first monastic home at Furness, and for the "London" of farmer William in Cumberland. The difference is merely grammatical, as the Manx name seems to show.

Of this second class, all the Manx names can be matched in our district. Some are identical: as Ramsey, *Hramnsey*, "Raven's Island"; and Raby, *Rábær*, "nook farm." The termination "by," it may be remarked in passing, is by no means a test of Danish settlement. It is common in Iceland, and is quite good Norse. The terminal *r* is merely the sign of the nominative, and it was dropped after a time in pronunciation, like the parallel Latin *s* of the nominative; and it disappears in inflexions. Thus, "*Ulfr*, his water"=*Ulfsvatn* (*v*, pronounced in early times like *w*, and *vatn* sometimes written *vatr*:) "his farm" is *Ulfsbær*=Ousby: therefore Ulvrestune, of Domesday, must be for *Ulfars-tún*, the inclosure of an early settler, Ulfarr. The popular pronunciation "Ouston" perhaps keeps a reminiscence of the later and greater Earl Ulphus or Ulfr, being the true equivalent of *Ulfstún*.

Some of these names are practically identical: Cringle (Isle of Man) and Crinkle Crags (*Kringla*, "circle"); Jurby, formerly Ivorby, and Ireby (Ivar's farm); Kneebe and Knipe (*gnípa*, "peak"); Sulby and Soulby (Sölvi's farm).

Some, again, are identical in one of the elements of which they are compounded. To take a few samples, some of them from old forms of Manx names:—

I.O.M.

I.O.M. Altadale, and our Alps (*Alpt*, "swan").

,, A[s]mogarry, and our Osmotherley, formerly Asmunderlawe (*Asmundar-garðr,—ljá*).

,, Brackabroom, and our Brackenber (*Brekku-brún, —barð*).

,, Clet Elby and our Cleat How (*Klettr*, "rock").

,, Clytts, and our Cleator (*Klettar*, "rocks").

,, Colden, with our Caldfell, &c. (*Kaldr*, "cold").

,, Dalby, &c., and our Dalton, &c. (*dalr*, "dale").

,, Foxdale, and our Foxfield (*folks*, "of the people").

,, Grauff, and our Orgrave (*aur-gröf*, "clay-pit").

,, Hæringstad, and our Harrington (*Hæring*, "hoary," prop. name).

,, Hegness, and our Honister (*Högna-nes,—staðr*).

,, Keppellgate, and our Keppelcove (*Kapall*, "nag").

,, Meary voar, &c., and our Merry hall—Mere beck (*mærr*, "borderland").

,, Orm's house, and our Ormside (proper name).

,, Oxwath, and our Oxenfell, &c. (*Oxavað, öxnafell*).

,, Rozefell, and our Rosthwaite, &c. (*hross*, "horse").

,, Sandwick, &c., and our Sandscale, &c. (*sandvík, sandskáli*).

,, Sleckby, and our Harrowslack, &c. (*slakki*, "slope").

,, Staynarhea, and our Stennerley, &c. (*steinn*, "stone").

,, Strandhall, and our Strands (*strönd*, pl. *strandir*).

,, Swarthawe, and our Swarthmoor, which is mentioned as Swartmore in 25 Hy. 6, *i.e.*, 1447, forty years before the invasion of Martin Schwartz (*svartr*, "black").

,, Warfield—Wardfell, and our Warthole, Warwick (*varða*, "beacon").

From

From one of such names in the Isle of Man, light is perhaps thrown on a curious series of names in our district. Mr. Moore explains Brausta (old form of Braust) as *Brautarstaðr*, "roadstead." *Braut* in Icelandic means a road *broken* through rocks or forests, as distinguished from *vegr*, *stigr*, *gata*, "path, track." *Brautarmót* is "a meeting of roads, as *Bekkjarmót* (Beckermet) is "a meeting of becks." And to the settlers in Cumbria the Roman roads must have been a great and remarkable feature of the country. When they found a passage through the rocks and forests of Patterdale, it is no wonder if they called the tarn,—by which it wound and at which it threw off a branch to the wonderful High-street—*Brautarvatn*, Brotherwater or Broaderwater; so called long before the traditional brothers were drowned there.

Again, Butterilket, the farm in Eskdale, just under the Roman fort, was written Brotherellkell (*temp.* Eliz.); Brotherulkul (*temp.* Hy. IV.); Brotherulkil (*temp.* Hy. III.) suggesting that the original Norse name was *Brautarhóls-kelda*, "road-hill spring," where they stopped for a drink before taking the steep gradients up Hardknot. *Brautarhóll* or *Brotthóll* (*Brott* being a common form in compounds) reappears in Brott-hole-hill in the Caldbeck neighbourhood (*temp.* Hy. III.) Brattah or Brotto in Legburthwaite may be the same, or else *Brotthaugr*, "road-howe."

It is interesting to observe that the confusion of "Brotherilket" with "Butterilket" is matched in Norse philology by that of *Brautarsteinar* with *Bautasteinar*, the popular name of the "road stones" or monuments (according to Vigfusson, *s.v.*). This may explain Butterliphowe, by the Roman road at Grasmere, as a natural and pastoral improvement on *Brautarhliðshaugr*, "road-gap-howe," a truly descriptive epithet; while Buttermere and Butterwick are perhaps better explained by *Búðir*, "booths"; *Búðarveggr* is good Norse for "booth-wall, and

and practically identical with the country pronunciation of Butterwick. To give one more turn to the kaleidoscope; Bethecar (High Furness) which was Bottocar (*temp.* Hy. 8,) must be for *Brautar-kjarr* being a bit of forest through which a Roman track pretty certainly ran.

This confusion between *Brautar* and *Bauta* may have been helped on—and it may be remembered—by the fact that the Irish for road is *Bothar*. For it is well known that the Northmen on the shores of the Irish Sea lost so much of their pure nationality, that the district of Galloway got its name from the Gall-gaedhil, the mixed Gall and Gael, Vikings and Celts. Even those who emigrated to Iceland took with them much Celtic blood and many Celtic words. Thus, *Njáll* and *Kjartan* and *Kormak* are Irish names of Norse Icelanders: *pollr*, 'pool'; *brók*, 'breeches,' and *poki*, 'bag,' are Celtic loan-words in Icelandic literature. Now I think it can be shown that the Norse settlers brought Celtic loan-words into Cumbria, and that they brought them from the Isle of Man.

C.—Mixed Names: Manx Loan Words.

First we may take words that are recognised by the dictionary-makers as loans to the Norse from Celtic sources: (1). In the Edda is found a word *Korki*, from Manx *korkey*, Irish and Gaelic *coirce*, 'oats.' Now Corby in Cumberland was written (*temp.* John, Ric. I., and Hy. I.) Corkeby and Korkeby, *i.e.*, *Korkabær*, 'oats-farm.' A corresponding name in purer Norse is Haverthwaite, *Hafraþveit*. Similar formations are Ruthwaite and Ruckcroft (*temp.* Ed. VI. Rewcroft) from *rúgr*, 'rye'; Rusland however was (*temp.* Ed. III.) Rolesland, *Rolf'sland*. Again, Bigland and Biggar (*Bygg-garðr*) from *bygg*, 'six-rowed barley'; the four-rowed barley, *barr*, may be found in Barton; so from *Korki* may possibly be derived Cockley beck; *i.e.*, *Korkahlíð*, 'oats-fellside'; the termination being degraded on the analogy of Ainstable (*temp.* Hy. I. Ainstapellith

Ainstapellith) *i.e.*, Einstapahliδ, 'fern-fellside.'* Again Corney (Cumb.)=Corna (I.O.M.)=Kornsá (Icel.)='Corn-beck,' so that the Cocker, on the banks of which is Cornhow, may perhaps be interpreted *Korká*, 'oats-beck.'

(2.) *Hnukr* is 'Knoll, peak,' in Icelandic, but derived evidently from the Manx *Knock*, Irish *cnoc*. We have it naturalised in Knockpike and Knock Shalcok (*temp.* Ed. II.)

Next we may take a set of words which are not found in the Icelandic dictionary, but are so used in Cumbria as to leave little doubt that they were brought over by the Celticised Vikings; and their form seems to be distinctly Manx, in some instances at least.

(3.) *Peel* is Manx for a 'fortified tower'; a word which, though not found in Icelandic literature, was certainly adopted by the Norse in Cumbria, and used to considerable purpose.

(4.) *Parak* occurs in our dialect, a loan-word from Manx and Irish *pairc;* though in Cleasby it appears only as a nickname. †

(5.) *Dub* has in Icelandic nothing nearer ‡ than *djúp*, "deep sea"; while *dubbyr, dob* (Manx) means "a small pool" in our sense.

(6.) The Manx *Spooyt* of a waterfall, seen in our Gill Spout, &c., has no analogue in Icelandic. The nearest form is the cognate Aryan root *spyja*, "to spew." §

(7.) The Scrow at Coniston is a turfy hill, an outlier

* Mr. Magnússon says:—"*Einstapi* looks quite Icelandic=standing rock, as rock-pillar=*stapi*, by itself=*ein*; and reminds of *einbúi*, lone-dweller, a name frequently given to solitary rocks that have tumbled down to the flat ground of a valley from a mountain top. *Einstapahliδ* might therefore=slope of the solitary rock-pillar, if the locality favours it."

† Mr. Magnússon remarks on this:—"In the shepherds' language of Iceland the word *paraka* or *parraka* means to herd milking ewes, by closely confining them to a narrow run of pasture. The word is a loan-word in Icelandic."

‡ Mr. Magnússon says:—"There is the poetic word *dúfa*=wave, which formally comes nearer to "dub" than *djúp*."

§ Mr. Magnússon remarks:—"Spooyt=Icelandic *spyta* (1) To spit; (2) To spout or to gush; *e.g.*, *æδ spytir blóδi*, a wound sputters blood." But there is no Icelandic substantive corresponding with the Cumbrian "spout," a waterfall.

of

of the Old Man. "Scrow" in our dialect means "a crowd," (from Icelandic *skreiδ*, "shoal" of fish, &c.); or else "scrimmage," to which it is doubtless akin. But neither of these explain the hill; whereas the Manx for "turf" or "sod" is *scrah*.*

(8.) Now to recur to the road-names. For the Irish *bothar* the corresponding Manx is *Bayr*. In the Isle of Man is a place called Baregarrow, which Mr. Moore interprets "rough road." On the Roman way between old Carlisle and Maryport, we have Bagrow ("Baggerah,") which may possibly indicate that the invaders found that bit of Roman paving more cobbly or more worn than usual. There is, however, a "Bagrave" on Watling Street in Northumberland. *Bayr* may also account for Barbon (in Domesday, Berebrune,) "the road-well," on the Maiden Way. Bardsey is in Domesday, Berretseige, *Bayr-head's-edge* the edge or cliff at the head of the road called the Red Lane, through Furness. And close to the spot where the road from Lancaster came upon the sands there was Bare (*sic* in Domesday). I think these names are hardly explained by the Icelandic *Ber*, in compounds *berja*, "berry," or by *berr* "bare"; so that we may, perhaps, consider *Bayr* as a loan-word; and if so, not from Ireland, but from the Isle of Man.

In a third and final sub-division, we must put two which are found neither in Norse nor in Manx, and yet may have been loan-words borrowed by the Norse from the island. That is to say, words must have been current in the 9th century which are now obsolete there, and preserved only in place-names; and these words must

* Mr. Magnússon says:—"I may mention that a very similar name exists in Iceland—*Skrúδ-ey*, now *Skrúδr*, a high rock island, outside the mouth of *Fa-skrúδs-fjörδr*. The etymology of skreiδ sems too far-fetched. Whether *skrúδ* in *Skrúδey* is to be connected with *skrúδ*=ship's shrouds, from its being cone-formed,—in which case the *ratio nominis* would be the same as in the case of *Hekluſjall*=Mantle-fell,—I leave an open question."

It was suggested when the paper was read that "Scrow" was merely a variant of the common word "Scroggs."

have

have been brought by the Norsemen into Cumbria, though not into Iceland.

(9.) *Glaise* is Irish for "stream," and Mr. Moore considers that its Manx equivalent was *glas*, in Douglas, "black stream." We may find the same word in Glasson and Glassonby (both *temp.* Hy. I.) and in Gleaston, the Glasserton of Domesday. Ravenglass (*temp.* Ed. I.), was Ranglass, a curious form, because most names in early writing become longer and fuller; this is an exception, surely not without cause. The old Nicolson and Burn derivation was *Renigh-glas*, "green fern,"—not very distinctive. But if Celtic grammar will allow, the Manx *glas* for "river," and *raun* for "seal" appear to supply material for a plausible etymology; for the harbour must have swarmed with seals in the 10th century.

(10.) The Irish *boireann* is not found in Manx, except in a place-name, and not in Icelandic at all; but it seems to have been a loan-word, judging from its occurrence in our dialect. It means properly, "rocky land," but, says Mr. Moore, "it is a name actually applied to an old earthern fortification"—Borrane Balebly. Now, in our district, *borran* is also used for rocky land in general, but as a proper name it attaches especially to land covered with ruins, *e.g.*, Borrans Ring, the Roman camp at Ambleside; High Borrans, near Windermere, is close to the Hugill settlement; Low Borrans is near to the spot where the Roman road crossed Troutbeck. Indeed, the name is frequent on the track of the Roman roads (see, for examples, Cornelius Nicholson's "Annals of Kendal"), while it is rare as a place-name in sites that are no more than naturally rocky.

There is a Borrans Hill House on Burns Hillside, near Sebergham, which seems to show that *Burns* is *Borrans*. Barnscar can hardly be anything but *Borran-scar*, from the heaps of remains found there. Burnmoor, *borran-moor*, is a place where circles are found; Wyebourne is near a British camp, east of Shap; Garbourne is on the High-street

street, south of Ill Bell. In these cases we have the loan-word compounded with a Norse element. Hence it may be suggested that "burn" in our district is frequently, if not always, equivalent to *borran*.

It has often been noticed that our dialect does not use "burn" for "stream," as in Scotland and Northumberland. "Burn," from *bœrne*, is an Anglo-Saxon word, not occurring in Norse, in which the nearest form is *brunnr*, "a well," as in the Icelandic proverb, "Late to bar the *burn* when the barn is fallen in," referring to a well with a gate, such as we see near old-fashioned cottages. The Scotch and Northumbrian "burns" were so named by Anglians, two or three centuries before the Northmen settled our district. The *old* Norse word was *bekkr;* but this was antiquated in Iceland by the time the sagas were written, and even in the 10th century they used *lækr* for *bekkr* in local names. This shows, I think, that our district was settled and named, and that a local dialect of pre-Icelandic Norse was formed, by the early part of the 10th century. We keep several words that the Icelanders lost. They had a proverb, "*öl heitir með mönnum, en með Asum bjór*"—"ale it hight with men, and with Gods beer"; meaning that "beer" was the ancient poetical word, ordinary folk asked for "ale." A parallel proverb said of barley "*bygg* it is called by men, and *barr* by Gods"; *barr* being the older and less familiar name for the less productive sort, superseded by *bygg*. But as we have seen, both words remain with us, in Bigland and Barton. Tilberthwaite, however, is not from "tilling bear," as some one has suggested, but from *Tjald-borgar-þveit*, "tent-fort-field," seen in Tildesburgthwait (*temp.* Ric. I.), like *Tjaldastaðir* (Icel.)

The use of old forms is strikingly shown in the name Burneside, which used to be derived from *burn*, "a brook." It was written (*temp.* Ed. III.) Brunolesheved, Bronnolsheved; and (*temp.* Ed. I.) Brunoleshefd, Bronolvishelvd. The valley of Sleddal Bronnolf, and one Roger de

de Bronnolph are mentioned (*temp.* Ed. I.) and Sleddall Brunholf (*temp.* Hy. III.) showing that Burneside (Burnishead) was named from some early settler *Brúnölvi*, "the wolf-browed," a recognised Norse appellative.* To the same name, if not the same person, may be referred Brunnelscroft, Middleton.

But in other "burns" the case is different. Greenburn is the valley that opens at the green borran which has been identified by Mr. H. S. Cowper as our lake district Tynwald. "Greenburn-beck," not "Green-burn," is the stream that flows past it. So Wythburn may be properly not the name of the stream, but of the ground by which Wythburn-beck runs. "Wyth" is *víðr*, "wide," like *víðlendi;* "wide lands," &c.; or *víðir*, "withy," like Viðidalr in Iceland, "willow-dale." And the land is not only unusually rocky, but it is also traversed by a great Roman road, marked by the names Stanwick (*steinvegr*, "stone road" paved with boulders), and Stenkin Nook (Stanwick-ing, "meadow"); and there are traces of ruins which, at the time of the settlement, must have been striking enough in their extent to be called the "wide-borran," or so overgrown as to suggest the name "withy-borran." In a word, the original Cumbrian Norse dialect called our streams *bekkr*, or á, and perhaps sometimes *lækr*, but never *burn*, which is the Manx loan-word *borran;* except in those outlying parts of our district where pre-Norse—*i.e.*, Anglian—names survived.

These ten loan-words, if the derivations be accepted, and in any case the parallelism of so many Manx and Cumbrian place-names, illustrate the interest—it might almost be said the necessity—of going beyond the bounds of our own district to compare the antiquities of our neighbours; and they rivet new links in the chain of evidence which binds us to the Isle of Man in the history of a thousand years ago.

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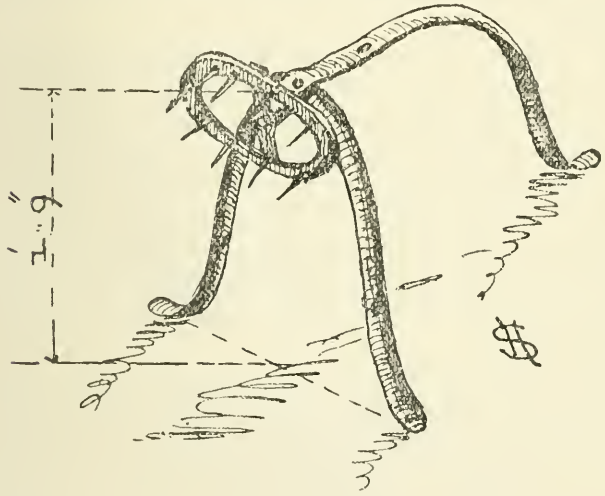
* So Cleasby & Vigfusson, *S.V.*

Mr. Magnússon says:—"These names seem closely to answer to *Brunólfr*, the oldest form of the common name *Brynjólfr*."

ART. XXXII.—*Toast Dogs, Frying Pans, and Peats.* By J. H. MARTINDALE.

Read at Douglas, September 25th, 1894.

READING over Mr. Swainson Cowper's paper on "Some Obsolete and Semi-Obsolete Appliances," * in the current part of our Transactions, has brought to my memory several contrivances not mentioned in that paper—the cause for their disappearance is, in my opinion, not so much owing directly to the railways, as to the substitution of grates and ranges for the old hearth fires, and the using of coal instead of peat and wood as fuel.



One article almost universally found in the farm-houses of the dales of Westmorland twenty-five years ago was the "*toast dog*" for toasting bread. I think the spit mentioned

* *Ante*, p. 86.

and

and illustrated by Mr. Cowper, * must have been used for meat or for black puddings and not for bread, as it would be too high. The dogs I allude to were made of flat iron, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick, and varied in height and shape, but generally were grotesque figures something resembling a dog holding a fish in its mouth. They had, usually, three pairs of prongs or forks on the side of the fish, on which sometimes as many as three slices of bread were toasted at the hearth fire at once, so that while the good woman was buttering the three slices, three more were being done ready for her. Two illustrations of Toast Dogs from Westmorland farm-houses (now in Tullie House, Carlisle,)† are given with this paper, and by the kindness of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, an illustration of a Toast Dog in their Museum is reproduced in the text.

Another article, put to uses the modern cook would never dream of, was the frying pan. This answered for all the purposes of the modern oven, such as baking and roasting meat, &c. When used for baking bread (wheat bread) a hoop or ring of iron from two to three inches deep was placed inside the bow handle of the pan, to increase the depth ; on this a lid was placed, and the lid was then covered with burning peat to give heat all round the pan, and the bread baked was fully as sweet and good as in a modern oven.

The haver bread was, as a rule, baked on the "Backstone," ‡ which was placed in the back kitchen, corresponding to the modern scullery, not in the front kitchen or "housepart." The haver bread baking day was a very important and busy day, the baking generally lasting from early morning until late at night, the fuel

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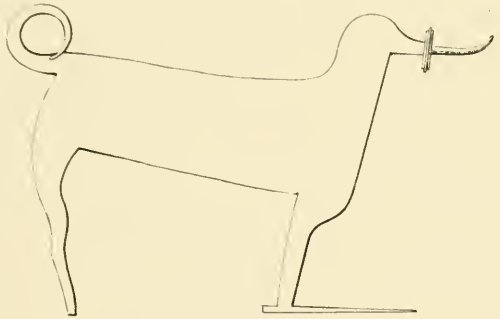
* *Ante*, p. 87.

† NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—They were presented by Mr. Martindale.

‡ "*Backstone*, an iron plate or slate to bake cakes upon."—Dickinson's *Cumberland Glossary*.

used



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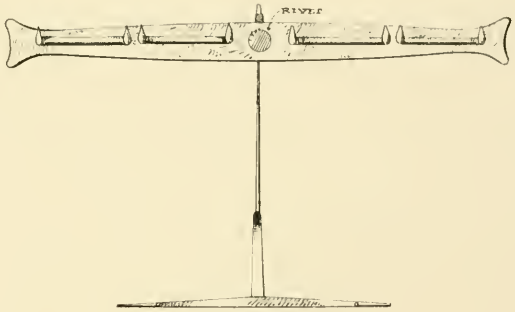

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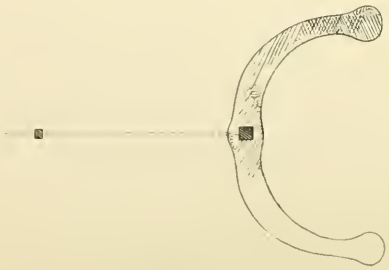

PLAN.

PLATE I. A TOAST DOG.

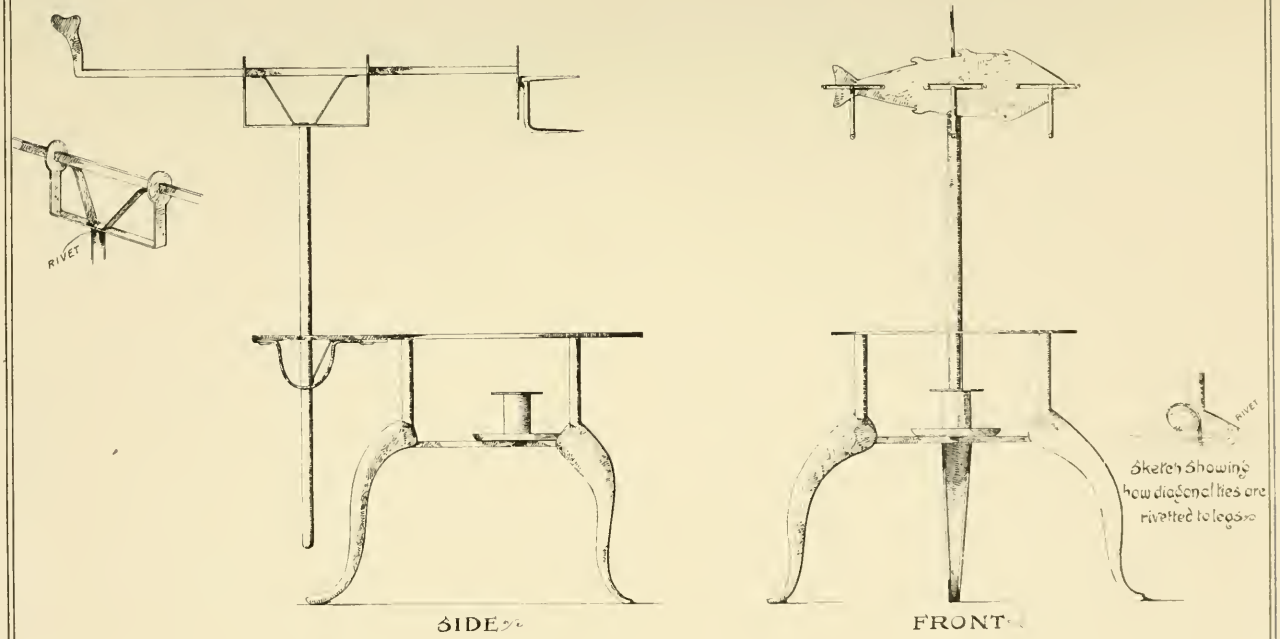

PLATE II. A TOAST DOG.

used was chaff from the grain, oats, &c., locally termed, I think, "*howseeds*." The backstone itself consisted of two large plates of iron about 2 feet 6 inches square, sufficient to take two cakes at once, which were generally changed from first to second in the baking, the fuel being put in underneath the plates and closed by a furnace door. Sufficient bread was baked to last for six or twelve months, and it was stored in the great oak chests—or arks.

From the "Toast Dog" to the fire before which it was used is not a long step. To set a peat fire on the hearth and get it to burn is a feat, I am afraid, few present-day maids-of-all-work could accomplish. In the first place, a goodly supply of peats was brought in by the servant girl from the peat-house, in a "*swill*." Several were then carefully broken in two over the knee of the girl, and propped up on *end* against one another, with a little paper in the centre. This was repeated round the first, and at last whole peats were used, all being placed on end, it being a fact that the peats will not burn if laid flat. The paper was then lighted, and a very little blowing made a cheerful fire. When the toasting had to be done, the outermost row of peats was carefully removed from the front and placed against the side of the fire, and the inner rows turned with the inner or burning face out; this gave a beautiful hot fire to crisp the toast, without smoke, and better or sweeter toast was never made.

From the peat fire we may step to the peatgraving,* a most interesting agricultural work of the year, now fast passing away for ever, in the exhaustion of the mosses. The whole manner of cultivation of the mosses is very interesting, and well worthy of a paper, especially the old manner of draining.

But to return to the peatgraving for a few moments. The

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* *Grave*, to dig with a spade.—Dickinson's *Cumberland Glossary*.

"dyke,"

"dyke," as it was called, was the edge or line of distinction between the top whole moss, or uncultivated, and the portion, being brought into cultivation. It was a sheer edge, or straight bank, of some eight or nine feet. The top was covered with the wild ling or heather, growing to a depth of two feet or more, and the bottom was standing with water to the depth of a few inches in the bottom of a previous year's peat dyke. The first operation was to remove the ling and bog on the top, for a width of about four feet, and throw it into the last year's dyke. This filled up the trench and absorbed the water, bringing up the ground to the general level. This work was done by the ordinary farm hands, and the dyke was now ready for peating. The "peatgravers" were special men, and engaged for the purpose, the peating having a season as much as haytime or harvest. The graver with his tools, a spade, similar to one * of which Mr. Swainson Cowper gives an illustration (but which by the way is a left-handed one) and a small board to stand on in the bottom of the dyke, his assistants, (two boys or a boy and the maid servant), with a couple of special made barrows, with no sides, but open rail in front and a wheel with tire † about four inches wide, and a small board on which to place the newly graved peats, and a fine morning and we are ready for work. The graver then steps into the dyke, and the boy places his board on the top, the graver cuts one row down for a depth of say six peats, and the boy lifts up the board and places the row on the front of his barrow and replaces the board for another row, and so on until the barrow is full, when he wheels away and the next one takes his place. The boy wheels his barrow on to the solid and fairly dry ground and places the peats in rows called "winrows," to dry, and returns, and this

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* *Ante*, p. 96.

† *Tire*, the iron rim of a wheel. Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic, etc., words.*

goes

goes on for the whole day. I may add the top peats, for a depth of say three feet, are called grey peats, and are lighter and more woolly than the lower ones, which are called black peats. The former kindle easiest, and the latter give more heat and last longer in burning. The peat dyke was generally cut across the whole width of the moss land for that particular farm, and one dyke generally did for a year's fuel. The peats were left to dry on the "winrows" for three weeks or a month, sometimes being turned over, and were then stacked or led away to the farm-house, special "shelvins"* being used on the cart for this purpose.

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* *Shelvins*, boards or frames to raise the cart sides with.—Dickinson's *Cumberland Glossary*.

ART. XXXIII.—*The Hutton Effigies, now in Great Salkeld Churchyard, formerly in Penrith Church.** By GEORGE WATSON, Penrith.

SIXTEEN years before Penrith Old Church (described by Camden as a pretty, handsome church) was ruthlessly demolished in 1720 to make way for the present commodious, but ugly, fabric, Bishop Nicolson recorded the existence in it of ten monuments and brasses, only four of which survived the venerable fabric in which the Bishop found them. †

No record of the plan of the old church now exists, but from Bishop Nicolson's references to the situation of the various monuments, and Dr. Todd's remark that the church "opened into two eastward," it is plain that the church consisted of a nave in a line with the grand old tower (happily preserved) into which it opened through the massive arch spanning the east side of the tower, the nave terminating eastward, with a chancel known as "St. Mary's or the Bishop's quire," ritually the chancel of the church.

There was a south aisle having at its eastern termination a second quire dedicated to St. Andrew, side by side with the chancel proper: in this quire, claimed by the Huttons as their family chapel and burying place, Bishop Nicolson found three memorials of the Huttons and their family connections, which he thus describes :—

(a) Upon a brass Plate on the floor of the Quire: "Here lyeth Mary, daughter of Thomas Wilson, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, who was first marryed to Robert Burdett of Bramcourt in the Co. of Warwick, Esq., by whom she had Sir Thomas Burdett, Bart., and several sons and daughters:

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* See these *Transactions*, vol. xii, p. 65.
† Bishop Nicolson's Visitation of his Diocese in 1703, p. 151.

And

And afterwards was marryed to Sir Christopher Lowther of Lowther in the County of Westmorland, Kt. Her Daughter Elizabeth Burdett marryed to Anthony Hutton of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, Esq., with whom she [Mary daur. of Thos. Wilson] lived, and dyed the last day of May, Anno Domini 1622."

Entry in the Parish Registers:

"1622, June 1. Lady Marie Lowther buried."

(b) On the North side of this Quire stands the fair Monument forementioned, erected and enclos'd with Iron Grates by consent of the Bishop; whereon, under the Pourtraictures of a Man and his wife in full proportion, are the following Inscriptions. On the South: "Here lyes interr'd Anthony Hutton, Esq., who was a grave, faithful and judicious Counsellor at Law, and one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery: Son and Heir of that renowned Kt. Sir William Hutton of Penrith; and was matched into the Noble Family of Sir Thomas Burdett of Bramcourt, in the Co. of Warwick, Baronet, by the Marriage of his Vertuous Sister Elizabeth Burdett; whose pious care and Religious Bounty hath erected this Marble Tomb to perpetuate the memory of such a worthy Commonwealths-man, and of so dear a Husband, who dyed the 10th of July, 1637." On the North: Here lyes the Portraiture of Elizabeth Hutton, the wife of the late deceased Anthony Hutton; who, though liveing, desired thus to be placed in token of her Union with him, here interr'd, and of her own expected Mortality.

Maritus } Multa'dilecta Conjux, Vita et morte
Uxori } individua Comes, non amisisti quem praemisisti.

Uxor } Unica mea Cura sic Vivere ut Tecum
Marito } Christo fruar et tuo lateri in aeternum sim conjunctior."

Bishop Nicolson does not record any inscription giving the date of Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton's death, but the following entry in the Parish Registers supplies the information:

"1673, May 7. Elizabeth Hutton, gentlewoman, widow, buried."

The Bishop also gives the following:

(c) On a plain stone upon the floor about the middle of the Quire: "Here lyeth the Body of Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, who dyed the 27th day of April in the 68th year of her age, Anno Domini 1684."

The entry in the Parish Registers of this burial is as follows:

"1684, April 29. Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, buried in linen and £5 paid to the informant and the poor."

This was the penalty enforced for non-compliance with the "Burial in Woollen Act" then in operation.

As

As the term "Mrs." in the 17th century was applied to ladies of the better class, whether married or single, Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes was, in all probability, Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton's niece, daughter of her sister Anne, wife of Mr. John Bowes; she was a settled resident in Penrith, as appears from the churchwardens' book, in which her name occasionally occurs as a liberal giver to ecclesiastical and charitable objects. The fact of her being buried in St. Andrew's quire amongst the Huttons makes her relationship almost certain.

The first memorial described by the Bishop was to the mother of Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton, who as widow of Robert Burdett, was married to Sir Christopher Lowther, and brought with her to Lowther her three daughters, Elizabeth, Lettice, and Bridget, all of whom found Cumbrian husbands. Elizabeth was married to Mr. Anthony Hutton, the marriage being thus recorded in the Penrith registers:

1612-13, Feb. 9. Mr. Anthony Hutton and Mrs. Elizabeth Burdett, married at Lowther.

Lettice was married at Penrith church, as recorded in the Penrith registers:

1623, June 9. Mr. Richard Skelton and Mrs. Lettice Burdett, married.

Of Bridget's marriage with Mr. William Whelpdale there is no mention in the Penrith Register, but it is attested by the Burdett pedigree, and the Penrith registers confirm the fact by giving the baptismal entries of William Whelpdale's six children, and the ultimate burial of his wife Bridget.

Bishop Nicolson's description of the Hutton effigies is by no means the earliest mention of them, for in the Parish registers we find the story of their origin, following immediately upon the entry of the burial of Mr. Hutton on

on July 10th, 1637, two blank pages in the registers having been left on which to inscribe, the year following, a long wordy declaration

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, per John Hasty, M^r^ of Arts, and Vicar of Penrith, in the County of Cumberland, Thomas Berke, Thomas Railton, Lancelot Smith, and John Readman, churchwardens.

The document, although ostensibly the work of the vicar and churchwardens (Mrs. Hutton appearing in it only in the second person,) is unmistakably the lady's own production, or written at her dictation. The declaration sets forth that:

Whereas Sir William Hutton, Knight, and Anthony Hutton, Esq., sone and heire, male of the said Sir William Hutton, knight, both deceased and theire ancestors hath without memory of man used, occupied, and enjoyed several ancient seates and pewes for themselves, theire wives, gentlemen, and servants, to sitt and kneele in at theire devotions in time of Divine service and sermon in theire said parish church in a place called St. Andrew's quire, as appurtenant and belonging to theire capital messuage in Penrith, and heve likewise by the like tyme (whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary) used to bury the dead corpes of the ancestors, wives, and children, of the Huttons in Penrith in the privie place in the said quire peculiarly by themselves where the said Sir William Hutton and Anthony Hutton, Esq., lye also buryed in which quire also there is yet remaining in the window an ancestor of the said house pictured in his armor and his wife by him, and the armes of the Huttons beside them have bene without memory in the said window, all which doth appear unto us by auncient Wills and evidences showed unto us whereunto we refer ourselves, and forasmuch as Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton, widow, late wife of the said Anthony Hutton, Esq. (whose mother the Lady Marie Lowther lived and died with the said Anthony Hutton, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, also lyeth buryed in the said quire) hath freely and voluntarily forth of her godly disposition and zeal to the church given and bestowed the some of Ten pounds,

[the interest of which was to be employed in the reparation of St. Andrew's quire], and then goes on to say:

"That

"That the said Elizabeth Hutton to express her love to her said late dear husband doth intend to erect and set up a Tombe in the said quire (in the place formely intended for such like purposes) representing the persons of the said Mr. Hutton and herself being almost ready finished for setting up."

The writing concludes with lengthy conditions as to the use of the annual interest of the ten pounds given, and a binding declaration that beyond the ten pounds the vicars and churchwardens for all time shall have no further claim upon the Huttons in respect of the maintenance of St. Andrew's quire.

By a copy of an Indenture dated 1649, found in the earliest extant churchwardens' book commencing 1656, it appears that the ten pounds before-mentioned, together with other thirty pounds for charitable purposes, given by Mrs. Hutton, was lent out at interest to one John Kidd, of Glassonby, Mrs. Hutton taking charge of the deed of security, receiving the interest and paying it annually to the vicar and churchwardens, viz: 12 shillings for the repairs of St. Andrew's quire, and 48 shillings for apprenticing boys of the poor of Penrith to be approved of by her. In this way Mrs. Hutton is for the remainder of her long life constantly in evidence in the churchwardens book as a power in the parish: we find her annually paying the 12 shillings for the repairs of the quire, and at intervals giving her consent to the apprenticing of boys.

Bishop Nicolson does not mention any inscription recording the venerable widow's death, but the parish registers supply the information. The churchwardens' book makes frequent mention of her up to 1670, when in consequence of a feud between outgoing and incoming churchwardens no parish accounts were entered for three years, *

* It was during this period of parochial chaos that the church plate and linen was stolen.

during

during which time Mrs. Hutton died, as we learn from the following entry in the registers :

1673, May 7. Elizabeth Hutton, gentlewoman, widow, buried.

The precise date of her birth is not known, but as she was 21 years a wife and 36 years a widow, she was probably an octogenarian at her death. It was a unique experience for her to live as a widow for 36 years in contemplation of her own sepulchral monument, and it contrasts curiously with a case in Cornwall, in which a widow erected monumental effigies to her husband and herself, and married again within three months.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Hutton's mother, Mary (Lady Lowther,) widow of Robert Burdett, was direct ancestress of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, as shown by the accompanying pedigree.

The effigies, along with the other Hutton monuments, described by Bishop Nicolson, have been missing ever since (as we may suppose) the church was rebuilt in 1720-22. It is probable they were removed to Hutton Hall for security during the rebuilding and never replaced ; the effigies have, however, lately been found at Nunwick Hall, Great Salkeld, lying in an open yard in a sadly mutilated condition ; more lately still they have been deposited in Great Salkeld churchyard, more exposed to mutilation than before. *

The Hutton monuments are mentioned by Nicolson and Burn, 1777, as having been in the old church ; their description of them is a verbatim copy of the Bishop's, doubtless taken from his MS.

Nicolson and Burn say the effigies were of plaster of Paris, while the recorded inscription on the monuments gives one to understand they were of marble ; whatever

* For a description of them, see these Transactions, vol. xii, pp. 65-66.

the

the substructure of the monument may have been the effigies are neither of marble nor plaster, but of a soft white stone known by geologists as "Tufa," a rock formed by springs depositing magnesian limestone; it is found in the East of England, as about Conisborough. In order to follow the vicissitudes of the monuments, we must trace those of the Hutton family in its decline and final extinction. Anthony Hutton (son and heir of Sir William) whose wife was Elizabeth Burdett (the subjects of the effigies) left no issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother Bernard, whose great grandson Richard, the son of Anthony Hutton and his wife Anne Wharton, was in his day the sole male representative of his lineage, and, in his domestic relations, one of the most unfortunate. At the age of 19 Richard married, as shown by the following entry in the Penrith registers:

1695, Apr. 23. Mr. Richard Hutton, of Gale, and Mrs. Susanna Pattenson, of Penrith, were married at Salkeld by Mr. Archdeacon Nicolson.

The bridegroom was 19 years old and the bride 18; she was the daughter of Mr. John Pattenson, attorney-at-law, Penrith. The result of this union was two sons, both dying in infancy, and three daughters, only one of whom survived, Mrs. Susanna, the young mother dying June, 1702. In 1706, a new wife appears in the registers, thus:

1706, May 9. Addison, son of Richard Hutton, Esq., and Bridget his wife, Baptised.

and, same date:

Bridget, wife of Richard Hutton, Esqr., buried.

In 1715 a third wife is in evidence when John, son of Richard Hutton, Esq., and Barbara, his wife, was baptised, and in 1716, a daughter, Barbara, then on

May

Boton, Booton, Button c

ADAM DE HOTON in
verderers for the King's
ALEXANDER, his son,
THOMAS HOTON lived
window in St. Andrew's

JOHN HUTTON, son o

living 4th H

JOHN HUTT
of Penrith
had in marriage by covenant yearly
value of land 4 Henry VII.

ANTHONY HUTTON = ELIZABE
of Gale, in Parish of Melmerby | daur. of
burd. 1589, Penrith P. Registers.

1st Wife, JANE VAUX = SIR WILLIAM HUTTON = 2nd Wife, DOR
of Caterlen | of Penrith, bur. at Penrith, Oct. 9, 1623, Penrith P. Registers.

THOMAS died without issue male.
WILLIAM d. unmard.
N.B.

ANTHONY HUTTON = ELIZABETH
born 1582, Counsellor at Law and a Master in Chancery, buried in St. Andrew's Choir, Penrith Church, 1637, no issue, succeeded by his brother Bernard.
d. of Robt. B
Warwickshir
Penrith Chu
mental effig
husband 1637

THOMAS
of Tresswell
died 1692.

WILLIAM = ELIZABETH
bap. at Penrith 1625-6, Jan. 9th | d. of Chris. Lancaster Sockbridge, Westmorland.

RICHARD
died young.

ANTHONY = ANNE WHART
aged 17, at Herald's Visitatn. March 24, 1664, Bapt. Feb. 17, 1641-2, Penrith P. Registers. | daur. of Humph
wood, Yorks,
Westmorland,
March 19, 1714

1st Wife, SUSANNA = RICHARD = 2nd Wife, BI
d. of Mr. John Pattinson, Attorney-at-Law, Penrith, bap. June, 1677, mar. at Gt. Salkeld, April 25, 1695, bur. July, 1702, Penrith P. Registers. | bap. at Penrith, Nov. 11, 1675, bur. in St. Andrew's Choir, Penrith Church, May 10, 1717. | bur. at Penri
19, 1707.

SUSANNA, bap. July 16, 1696.
ANTHONY, bap. Feb. 3, 1698, bur. Nov. 14, 1698.
ANNE, bap. June 8, 1699, bur. Feb. 12, 1700.
WILLIAM, bap. June 13, 1700, bur. June 1, 1701.
MARY, bap. June 25, 1702.

ADDISON HUTTON, bap. May 9, 1706, sold Hutton Hall estates and died without issue, 1746.

Hutton Hall, Penrith.

of Edwd. I. died Nov. 1308. Order to Sheriff of Cumberland to elect two
of Inggelwode in the place of Adam de Hoton and John de Pennereth deceased.
II. *Close Rolls 2nd Edwd. II. Membrane* 18
year of Hen. IV. and beginning of Hen. V., a monument and stained glass
of Penrith Church to him and Helena his wife—Norry King at Arms 1515.
Nicolson & B.
mas and Helen=ISABEL d. of Hugh Salkeld of Rossgill—N. & B.

IAM =JOAN
II.

LIZABETH
daur. and co-heir of Thos. Beauchamp of Croglin
whose Arms were Argent on a bend Gules three plates.

Musgrave of Cumcatch—N. & B.

BENSON — SIR RICHD. HUTTON =AGNES
Knt. of Goldsborough, Justice of Comn. Pleas, Bapt. at Penrith Oct. 22, 1597, bur. at London, 1638-9. Feb. 26, Penrith P. Reg.
daur. and co-heir of Mr. Thos. Briggs, Caumire, Westmorland.

of Bramcote, 1673, bur. at rected monu- herself and ith P. Regs.

JOHN D.D. died unmard.

BERNARD =ANNE d. of Hugh Stamper of Snittlegarth.

SUSAN, wife of Simon Musgrave of Penrith.
ANN, wife of Sir Chris. Dalston.

HN — BARNARD — THOMAS — DOROTHY — ANN — GRACE — CATHERINE

BERNARD — JOHN — HENRY — DOROTHY — ANNE

V. of Gilling- Kirkbythore, t Melmerby, nrith P. Reg.

ADDISON =3rd Wife, BARBARA
urch, May

ELISABETH, bap. Oct. 10, 1672, at Melmerby.
CATHERINE, bap. Feb. 25, 1674, at Penrith.
DOROTHY, bap. Feb. 15, 1677, at Penrith.
ANNE, bap. July 25, 1678, at Melmerby.
JANE, bap. Sept. 26, 1679, at Melmerby.

JOHN, bap. June 24, 1715, Penrith P. Registers.
BARBARA, bap. Nov. 2, 1716, bur. June 16, 1717, 37 days after her father.

May 10th, 1717, Richard Hutton, Esq., was buried.

and a month later baby Barbara was laid in the same grave in St. Andrew's quire, only three years before the church was demolished; Richard Hutton died at the early age of 42. He was High Sheriff for Cumberland in 1710, and his name appears as churchwarden of Penrith church in 1701 and 1702. Of his son John nothing more appears, he probably died young, his half-brother, Addison, being spoken of as sole survivor in the male line. Addison Hutton lived to manhood, and was a doctor of medicine. He sold the Hutton Estates to Mr. John Gasgarth, whose son sold them to the Lowthers, and Addison Hutton dying in 1746 at the age of 40 without issue, the long line of Huttons of Hutton Hall, Penrith, became extinct.

Mr. Richard Hutton had five sisters, two baptised at Penrith, and three at Melmerby, but their destiny in life cannot be traced in the Penrith registers, which, although containing numerous Hutton entries, are deficient in Hutton information in consequence of the family owning the small manor of Gale, in the parish of Melmerby, where many of them were baptised and buried, and doubtless married: it unfortunately happens that prior to the year 1700 the Melmerby registers are not extant, while the transcripts of them in the Bishop's registry are few and at irregular intervals, and therefore useless for the purpose of systematic research.

At Nunwick Hall, besides the Hutton effigies lately there, there is also a slab of plaster of Paris containing the Hutton arms quartered with those of the Beauchamps, these being the bearings of the descendants of John Hutton, who married one of the co-heiresses of Beauchamp of Croglin; the Hutton crest, three broad arrows and a coronet, is also to be seen upon the waterspout heads.

Nunwick Hall was well known to have been the property and residence of a family of Richardsons, but how the

the Huttons could have been connected with the house or its owners was a mystery upon which neither the Penrith registers nor local history threw any light. The matter has, however, now been pretty conclusively cleared up by a collection of extracts from legal documents and notes made by the late Mr. Thomas Grierson, formerly of Penrith, and given by him, shortly before his death, to the author of this paper. They are as follows:

About Alston Moor you will find a Manor or Lordship called Randle Holme. One William Richardson, senior, of Randle Holme Hall (1st son of one John Richardson of Alandale) was baptised April 7, 1599.

The above-mentioned died 1680, April 7, and was Buried in Aldston Chancell, and on ye north side thereof. Had a large family of sons and 2 or 3 daughters.

Christopher R, his 5th son, was baptised at Alandale Church, 1650, March or Michaelmas.

1730, Sep. 10. (The above) Died, and was interr'd in Mr. Hutton's Burying place by Mr. Morland, on Saturday afternoon following.*

1728-9. Mary, wife of ye said Christopher, was baptised at Knaresdale Church 1658, Oct. 30, and dy'd Friday ye 14th of March, 1728-9, and was interr'd in Mr. Hutton's burying place by Mr. Wilkinson, of Lowther, the Sunday afternoon following. †

1695. Mary, the 2nd daughter of Christopher & Mary Richardson, borne on Saturday, July 20th & baptised Aug. 8 at Salkeld Church by William Nicolson, Arch-Deacon of Carlisle, afterwards Bishopp thereof, after yt Bishop of Londonderry, and lastly Arch-Bishop of Cashel in Ireland.

William Richardson of Penreth Towne Head, Doctor of Physic. 1714. In the Chamber above ye parlour at Wards End in Penreth, My son, Christopher, was borne on Tuesday morning (about half an hour after two) Feb. 15th, 1714 (the morning being foggy).

Had private Baptizme per Mr. Thomas Fothergill, Curate of Penreth, aforsd on Saturday, the 19th of ye same month:—And publick Bap-

* 1730, Sep. 12. Mr. Christopher Richardson, Buried. (Penrith P Registers.)
† 1728-9, Mar. 16. Mary, wife of Mr. Christopher Richardson, Buried. (Penrith Registers.)

tizme

tizme at St. Andrew's Church in Penreth, aforsd per the Vicar, thereof, the Revd. Hugh Todd, D.D. and Prebend of Carlisle, on Thursday ye 17th of March, 1714, St. Patrick's Day, and the day on which K. Geo. First Parliament mett on.

Had for surety's his Grand-father and Grand-mother, and his Great Uncle, Richard Hutton, Esq., represented by Andrew Whelpdale, Esq. by reason ye night before about Eleven a clock, dy'd Grandmother Hutton, who was bury'd in Melmerby Church Quire ye Saturday next after. *

1718. In ye abovesaid Chamber my son Thomas was borne on Thursday morning about half an hour after ten, May 22nd, 1718; being Assention day that part of ye morn being pretty clear—had private Baptizm per Mr. Jos. Stubbs, Curate of Penreth, about Saturday next following,—and Publicke Baptizme at the Church aforesaid per said Dr. Todd, the nineteenth of July next after, had for suretys, Mr. Peter Brougham, of Scales Hall, Mr. John Pattenson, of Penreth, and Madam Barbara Hutton his abovesaid Great Uncles Widdow, represented by Mrs. Agnes Webster of Penreth, aforesaid. †

1755. He dy'd at Brands-Burton, October 28th, 1755. My brother Charles dy'd at Brands-Burton, September ye 12th, 1755.

1736. Ann Richardson (eldest daughter of Thomas and wife of Wm. Richardson) departed this Life in the White Roome at Hutton Hall in Penrith about a quarter after nine a clock in the morning, September 8th, 1736, aged 44; Lady day next following, and was interr'd by Mr. Morland, Vicar of Penrith, on Friday the 10th following.‡

1713. William Richardson "of Penrith towne head," was a great money lender.

1711-12. William Richardson, of Low House, within the parish and county aforsd. (Great Salkeld, Cumberland.)

1719. William Richardson, Lord of the Manor of Great Salkeld.

These extracts show plainly that a daughter of one of

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* 1714-15, Mar. 17. Christopher, son of Mr. William Richardson and Anne, his wife, Baptised Publicly—Privately, Feb. 19.
1714-15, Mar. 19. Mrs. Hutton at Mellorby—Buried. (Penrith Registers.)

† 1718, June 19. Thomas, the son of Mr. William Richardson, Doctor of Phisick, and Anne his wife, Baptised. (Penrith P. Registers.)

‡ 1736, Sep. 10. Anne, wife of Doctor Richardson, buried. (Penrith Registers.)

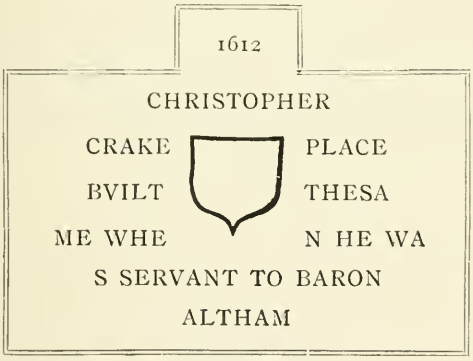
Richard

Richard Hutton's sisters became wife of Mr. William Richardson, doctor of physic, of Town Head, Penrith, and afterwards of Nunwick Hall, Great Salkeld, and he it undoubtedly was, who on the strength of his wife being, on her mother's side, the daughter of a Hutton, assumed for himself the Hutton arms, and carried off the Hutton effigies, belonging to Penrith Church, to grace his stable yard, placed the Hutton arms upon his house cornice, and cast the Hutton crest upon the leaden heads of his water spouts.

ART. XXXIV.—*Note on the Inscribed Door Head at Crakeplace Hall, in the County of Cumberland.* By J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A.

Read at Lake Side, June 13, 1894.

AMONGST the many valuable contributions to the Transactions of this Society made by the late Dr. M. W. Taylor, F.S.A., is an interesting paper on the "Legends and Inscriptions over Doorways of Old Houses in Cumberland and Westmorland." * The purport of these inscriptions is chiefly to commemorate the name of the builder, but very frequently some pious ejaculation or sententious maxim is added, whilst one or two communicate some fact of personal history. The rather quaint legend over the doorway of Crakeplace Hall, in the parish of Dean, belongs to the latter class. It runs thus :—



The first thought which strikes one on reading the inscription is—"Who was this Baron Altham, in whose

* Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society, vol. vi., pp. 280, 290, and "The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland," pp. 326 (a photograph), 327, 362.

service

service the builder of the Hall was, and in which he took so much pride as to regard the fact worthy of being recorded in this permanent form ? "

The title sounds strangely unfamiliar, and a search through the British Peerage, past and present, yielded me no information. In the end I discovered that it was an Irish title, and had been conferred on the 14th February, 1680-1, on Altham Annesley, the second son of Arthur Annesley, the first Earl of Anglesey of the second creation. But this discovery raised another problem. The date over the doorway is 1612, and if this is the date of the building, of which I think there is no doubt, how could the builder describe himself as being at that time " servant to Baron Altham," no such title being in existence until sixty-nine years later?

A little further investigation, I think, has solved the mystery. The father of the first Baron Altham married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters and coheirs of Sir James Altham, of Oxey, in the County of Hertford, Knight, who was one of the Barons of the Exchequer in the reign of James I. This, no doubt, was the master in whose service Christopher Crakeplace was. He was no peer, of course, but, in ordinary parlance, the *puisne* judges of the Exchequer were, until the passing of the New Judicature Act, styled Barons.

ART. XXXV.—*Colton Church.* By the REV. A. A. WILLIAMS, the Vicar.

Read at that Place, June 14, 1894.

THE first thing that you will have noticed on strolling up the little hill on which our church is situated will be an ancient well, of red Furness sandstone, or freestone, about half way up the ascent.

It appears to be made of the same kind of stone as our ancient font, and some other work which I have noticed in the east wall of the church, and my theory is that it was made at the Abbey and carried here, so that water might be forthcoming for the services of the sanctuary in pre-Reformation days. The spring is a good one, and rarely, if ever, fails.

On reaching the churchyard you will have noticed an old sundial in the south-west corner of the old yard. When the wall round the old churchyard was taken down in 1886, for the purpose of adding an acre of new ground to it, I discovered the upper portion of the pedestal (bearing a date 1674) built in, as an ordinary stone, at the foundation of the wall, and took care of it. A friend, when looking about, found the other and lower half amongst the coal refuse at the bottom of the tower; and on putting a short notice of this in the *Westmorland Gazette*, I received very shortly afterwards a letter from a gentleman at Wray, saying that he remembered the old dial standing on the top of the churchyard wall (in the south-west corner) and that if I looked in a certain ditch in the valley below (near the present Vicarage) I should find the circular base on which it used to stand. The pedestal being broken, he says that the lads of his day set off the round base from the top of the hill and rolled it to the bottom

bottom. This also I secured, and the three are now reunited and serving their ancient use.

The church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, consists of an embattled tower, a nave, north transept, and a chancel. The first mention of any church in the parish is in 1531, when there was an "unconsecrated chapel" existing, probably built in the Tudor period, though there appears to have been an ancient building, on the same site, of smaller dimensions. My reason for mentioning this is, that when the church was dismantled in 1890, at its restoration, I noticed what appeared to be the foundation of a substantial wall running parallel to the present east wall, but a little west of the pulpit, and as this is the oldest part of the church, I take it that there was an older and smaller building here prior to the existing edifice.

From a document in the Parish Chest, we gather that this

Parochiall Chappell of Colton was consecrated by Edwin Sands, Archbishop of Yeorke, ye last day of August, A.D. 1578, and in the 2nd year of the said Abp's consecration.

It is stated in the pedigree of the Rawlinsons, of Greenhead, that William Rawlinson, Esq.,

Rebuilt the Parochiall Chappell of Coulton upon the common belonging to his family before the year 1603,

the tower being added at this date. The latter contains an ancient pre-Reformation bell, bearing the inscription:

"CAMPANA BEATI JOHANNES APPLI."

The church was restored in 1710-11-12, at a cost of £45 10s. 9d., by assessment, and an interesting balance-sheet (containing some highly amusing entries) is kept in the Parish Chest.

In

In 1721 the north transept was added after much dispute, certain parties pulling it down by moonlight as soon as it was ready for the roof; they were finally caught, excommunicated, and sent to Lancaster Gaol.

In the year 1840 the church was reseated at a cost of £216 17s. 6½d., and having again, in lapse of time, fallen into bad repair, it was restored in 1890 at a cost of £900. The old walls were left exactly as they were before; but the floor was levelled. Many lead coffins, and hundreds of others were noticed in the body of the church. The old windows were left in their irregular positions, except that stone was substituted for wood in some cases, and new tracery windows were placed in the east wall and north transept, and filled with stained glass.

On the first day of the dismantling of the church, in 1889, we discovered an ancient font turned upside down, and used as a base for a more modern font, which had been in use since 1718, bearing the initials:

J. P. J. R. C. T. F. C.

referring to the four wardens who were in office in 1717-18. This stood in a pew near the pulpit, but the ancient font has been restored to its original use, and placed near the door.

There is an Elizabethan chalice with cover paten (bearing date 1571) supposed to have been presented by Archbishop Sandys, whose relatives lived at Old Hall, in this parish. The Old Hall pew was of oak, and is now placed round the vestry walls as wainscotting; the two old dates, "1688" and "1712," having been cut out and placed in the woodwork of a pew as nearly as possible in the identical spot in which we found them. It is about the fourth pew west of the pulpit. The old black oak altar rails were taken care of at the restoration, and replaced in the position they now occupy.

The Registers commence in 1623; but are in a bad state

state. They were transcribed and published in 1891, two or three copies only being left. There are some interesting documents in the Parish Chest; amongst them three letters from Bishop Pearson, the author of an "Exposition on the Creed."

On the north-east there used to stand an old charnel house, which has now been levelled with the ground, and its contents interred in the new ground. It was erected in 1764, at a cost of £2 6s. 4d.

The present vestry was built in 1762, at a cost of £23 1s. 3¾d.; whilst just outside the churchyard railings is an old horsing stone, built in 1767, at a cost of 12s., and recently repaired. This was doubtless useful in olden days, when people rode to church, and turned their horses into the peat-house underneath the school opposite, whilst they repaired to worship in the church, and to an "ordinary," held at Greenhead, between the services.

I must not omit to mention that the old gallery, which extended right across the west end of the church, was removed in 1890, being in a very shaky condition. The old clock, which used to be on the wall close alongside the pulpit [as a check, one supposes, against long-winded preachers,] was removed to the west wall, as was an escutcheon of George III's time. Some quaint old texts used to be seen on the walls, with older texts still underneath the whitewash, and some old inscriptions. These latter have been carefully transcribed on to a board over the font. It is curious to add that one of these inscriptions was an error. It ran formerly:—"Government grant in 1816—£200." On writing to the Bounty Office I found (as expected) that it was a grant from Queen's Anne's Bounty, and the mistake was corrected on the new board.

ART. XXXVI.—*On a Milestone of Carausius and other recent Roman Finds.* By THE PRESIDENT and F. HAVERFIELD, F.S.A.

I.

IN the month of October, 1894, a large stone of cylindrical shape, and of great girth, with lettering at each end, was noticed in the bed of the river Petterill, below Gallows Hill, Carlisle, by Mr. Joseph Graham, the master of the old workhouse. Information of the find was conveyed to me, and by the kindness of Mr. Horace Lonsdale, clerk to the guardians, the stone was conveyed to Tullie House. It is 6 feet in length, cylindrical, with a rough face worked down one side. On it Mr. Haverfield, F.S.A., has written the following letter, which appeared in the *Academy* of January 12th, 1895.

Ch. Ch., Oxford: Jan. 5, 1895.

A Roman milestone has lately been found about a mile south of Carlisle, in the bed of the river Petterill, close to the Roman road which led from Luguvallium southwards. It has been acquired for the Tullie House Museum by Chancellor Ferguson, to whom I am indebted for information and squeezes.

The stone, which is six feet long, has two inscriptions, one at each end: that is to say, it was first erected under one emperor, then, according to a common practice, it was turned topsy-turvy, and inscribed with the name of a late ruler. The emperors are Carausius and either Constantius Chlorus or Constantine I.

The two inscriptions are :—

1. IMP C M
AVRMAᵛS
CARAVSIᵒPF
INVICTO AVG

Imp. C(aes) M. Aur(elio) MAVS *Carausio p(io) f(elici) invicto Aug.* The only puzzle is MAVS, which seems to be the lettering at the end of

of the second line: I think it may be a blundering anticipation of ARAVS in the third line, as the way in which the letters are formed is not so dissimilar as in modern print. Carausius is generally credited with the names M. Aurelius Valerius. The *praenomen* is testified to by several coins, the other names only by one of Stukely's coins (*Carausius* i., p. 112) accepted by Eckhel (viii. 47), but omitted by Cohen. It is said to read IMP M AVR V CARAVSIVS P AV; but Stukely's notorious inaccuracy and the oddity of the legend make the statement rather doubtful.

This milestone is, so far as I know, the only certain lapidary relic of Carausius. The inscription appears on the squeeze to be complete; but Chancellor Ferguson, who has seen the stone, thinks something may have been lost below line 4.

2.
FL VAL
CONS
TANT
///O NOB
CAES

Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constant [*in*]*o nob. Caes.* It is possible that a line may have been lost at the beginning. In line 4 I think to see NO on the squeezes, and hence I have supplied *Constantino*; but *Constantio* is not wholly impossible. The road from Carlisle southwards has yielded two inscriptions of Constantine the Great (C. vii. 1176, 1177), both later than the one here described and giving him the title of Augustus, not Caesar.

F. HAVERFIELD.

This stone marked the first mile out of Carlisle, on the road to York and London, and has probably rolled into the Petterill from the top of the Gallows Hill.

2. A Roman inscribed stone has also been found, or rather refound, near Carlisle. It was first found in the West Walls, Carlisle, in 1828, and is recorded by the Rev. John Hodgson in his *History of Northumberland*, as in the possession of his brother Christopher: the account was copied by the late Dr. Bruce into the *Lapidarium*, see No. 495; but the stone itself has long been lost. It has been refound among a heap of stones lying in a shrubbery

ROMAN MILESTONE WITH INSCRIPTION AT EACH END.

shrubbery in the garden at Newby Grange, some five miles east of Carlisle, and must have been there twenty or thirty years. It reads

[D] M
AVR SENECITA
V AN XX (?) IVL
FORTV//

The rest is broken off, and was missing in 1828, and what is left is now broken into two. A son of Christopher Hodgson was the architect of Newby Grange, and he probably gave this stone to his employer, the late W. N. Hodgson, M.P. By the kindness of Mr. T. H. Hodgson, these fragments are now in Tullie House.

3. A fine carved head in red sand stone of Roman date has just (December 1894) been added to the collection in Tullie House: it appears to have been found there during the excavations for the foundations, and to have been carried off by one of the navvies, who kept it until stress of circumstances, or thirst for beer, forced him to realize. It represents a face with bold profile; the hair, which is done in small coils, is confined by a narrow fillet round the head, and carried down the sides of the face to meet the whiskers and beard, which are dressed in the same manner.

ART. XXXVII.—*A Pedigree of the descendants of John Waugh, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle, showing their connection with the family of Tullie of Carlisle.* BY HENRY WAGNER, F.S.A., with an Introduction by the PRESIDENT.

Communicated at Lake Side, June 13th, 1894.

INTRODUCTION.

THE prominence into which the old Mansion House at Carlisle, known as Tullie House, has recently sprung owing to its conversion into a Museum, School of Art, Picture Gallery, Lending and Reference Library, &c., has excited in the minds of many people a desire to know something about the families that in succession have owned and inhabited so interesting a house.

Tullie House was built at the end of the seventeenth century, as the date, 1699, on the fine lead spouts tells us, and by some member of the Tullie family. Of this distinguished family, an account with pedigree will be found in these Transactions, vol, XI., p. 113, as an appendix to a paper by the present writer on "The Siege of Carlisle, 1644-5." The first of the name that we hear of in Carlisle is George, who is styled "gent" in deeds of 1619 in the possession of the Corporation of Carlisle. He was probably son, or more likely grandson of Thomas Tullie of Blindcrake in the parish of Isell, about ten miles from Keswick, whose will, dated the 4th of September 1567, and proved on the 2nd of October 1569, is printed in these Transactions.* He married at Crosthwaite, April 22, 1614, "Mrs. Thomazine Heckstetter of Keswick," and their son Timothy was baptised there on March 20th, 1614-5. They had other sons, of whom the

* Vol. XI., p. 113.

youngest

Pedigree of the descend

Arms. Arg. on a chevron gu. three bezants or.

JOHN
of Scattergate, West
Will dated 10 June,
proved 30 July, 1690.

JOHN WAUGH, D.D. = ELIZABETH [? Simpson
B. (?) 2 Feb,, 1655, d. 29 Oct., 1734, & bur. (3 Nov.) in S. Peter's, Cornhill.
Rector of S. Peter's, Cornhill, 1704; (?) Canon of Lincoln, 1718; Dean of Gloucester, 1720; Bishop of Carlisle, 1723. Will da. 10 Oct., 1733; Pr. 18 Nov. 1734. (P.C.C. 236, Ockham).
Her brother is stated
Sebergham Hall, Cumb
May, 1716, under the C
in St. Peter's, Cornhill.

JOHN WAUGH, D.D. = ISABELLA
B. *c.* 1703, Chancellor & Preby. of Carlisle, 1727: Dean of Worcester, 1751. Will da. 17 April, 1765, & pr. 25 May following. (P.C.C. 103, Rushworth): d. at Worcester, and buried in Carlisle Cathedral, 25 April, 1765.
2nd dau. of Dr. Thomas Tullie, Dean of Carlisle. B. . . m. at St. Mary's, Carlisle, 20 Aug., 1728. Living 1765.

BRI
B. 26, & bap
Cornhill, 27
There bur.
the Commu
Sept., 1710.

JOHN WAUGH
B. 27 Apr., 1730.
Vicar of Bromsgrove.
D. v.p. 1777 & buried in Carlisle Cathedral.

JUDITH
B. 3 May, 1731.
D. æt. 68, 29 July, 1799.

ISABELLA
B. 1 Jan., 1735.
D. æt. 73, . . 1809.

ELIZ.
B. 12 Apr
D. æt. 77,

nts of John Waugh, D.D.

GH=MARGARET
nd.

e been of
. Bur. 9
nion table

ELIZABETH= . . . ELLIOTSON
B. 1654, bur. at Dalston, 31 Aug., 1748, æt. 94.

ELIZABETH
DOROTHY

THOMAS

Peter's,
, 1704.
side of
ble, 25

MARGARET
Bur. in S. Peter's, Cornhill, in the Chancel, 14 Jany,, 1713.

HUMFRIDA=THOMAS MACHEN FIDDES
living 1734. Vicar of Barking, Essex. Bur. at Carlisle, 11 Sept., 1734. Will (witnessed by John Waugh, Thos. Tullie, and Thos. Jackson) da. 6 Sept., 1734, and pr. 2 Nov. following. (P.C.C. 241, Ockham.)

14.

MARY
B. 23 Feb., 1739.
D. æt. 75, . . 1815.

ANN
B. Sept., 1741.
D. & bur. at Caldbeck. . .

MARGARET
B. 12 Nov., 1743.
D. æt. 60, 31 Dec., 1803.

youngest, Isaac, is the best known, as having been the author of "The Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle 1644-5," the eldest son, Timothy, took Orders, had a church in Carlisle, 1655 to 1660, and became rector of Middleton-in-Teasdale. His second son, Thomas, was prebendary, chancellor, and dean of Carlisle and died in 1726. Dean Tullie had three sons, Jerome* of Tullie House, in 1745, and of Wetheral Abbey; William, of the Six Clerks Office in Chancery; and Thomas, Prebendary of Carlisle; none of whom left issue: Dean Tullie had also two daughters, Anne, who married William Cornthwaite, and Isabella, who married John Waugh, Prebendary and Chancellor of Carlisle and Dean of Worcester, thus introducing the Waughs, whose pedigree is given herewith.

The first of the family of Waughs that we at present know of is John Waugh, described in his will,† which is printed at the end of this account, as of "Scattergate [Appleby] in the county of Westmorland yeoman," where he had property. From the will we gather that he had two sons, John the eldest, and Thomas the second, and a married daughter Elizabeth, whose surname is given in the body of the will as "Ellison," but in the note of probate as "Elliotson," the form under which it appears on the lady's tombstone in Dalston Churchyard, and in the register of her death at that place.‡ John Waugh, yeoman, was an

* Will dated 3rd January, 1737, pr. 1756, Somerset House.

† Will dated 16 June, 1690.

‡ "Bishop Waugh.—On the outside of the south wall of the chancel there is an inscription almost defaced, to the memory of Mrs. Elliotson, the sister of Bishop Waugh who was Bishop of Carlisle from 1723 to 1734. It is near the tomb of Bishop Rainbow who was Bishop of Carlisle from 1664 to 1684 and as far as can be deciphered it bears the following inscription—

Near this stone lies Mrs
Elliotson, only sister of the
Rt Revd John Waugh Ld
Bp of this Diocese, who died
At H.....9
17.....year of her
A.....
Blessed with all her Soul
.....?

illiterate

illiterate, and made his mark at the foot of his will, instead of signing his name, but he was far from undervaluing the advantage of a good education, and had, as his will shows, made great sacrifices out of his scanty means to provide for his eldest son John in that respect. The second John received his education at Appleby Grammar School, and Queen's College, Oxford, and climbed up the ladder of preferment slowly but steadily: at the age of 49, in 1704, he became rector of S. Peter's, Cornhill: at the age of 63 he became Canon of Lincoln, and two years later Dean of Gloucester: at the age of 68, in 1723, he became Bishop of Carlisle, which he retained until his death in 1734. As the revenues of the see of Carlisle were only small, the new Bishop received permission to hold his benefice of St. Peter's, *in commendam*, so long as he held the bishopric of Carlisle.* His will, dated in 1733, however shows that in spite of this indulgence, the Bishop did not accumulate a fortune, and out of the little he had saved he provided for his sister, Mrs. Elliotson, and her two daughters, who probably lived with him at Rose Castle, and who settled at Hawksdale after his death. The Bishop's only son, John Waugh the third, was appointed by his father in 1727, vicar of Stanwix, rector of Caldbeck, prebendary of Carlisle, and chancellor of the diocese.† In the following year Chancellor Waugh married, by license, Isabella, second daughter of Dr. Thomas

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In the notes (p. 146) to Mr. Beck's book we had made these observation in 1890 on this tombstone—

> Partially deciphered with much difficulty—the weather having almost completed its work. *Register.*—" Augt 31, 1748, Mrs Elliotson, of Hawksdale (aged 94) Burd." Bishop Waugh's name occcuring here may have given rise to the popular notion that there are three or four Bishops buried in Dalston." *Dalston Parish Magazine.*

* When a parson is made bishop, there is a cession or voidance of his benefice by the promotion; but if the King by special dispensation gives him power to retain his benefice notwithstanding his promotion, he shall continue parson, and is said to hold *in commendam*. Jacobs' Law Dictionary, *sub voce Commendam*.

† In 1749 Chancellor Waugh valued Caldbeck to a good manager at £150 per annum, and Stanwix at £100: both had much improved. See his MS. Notes to Bishop Nicolson's Visitation.

Tullie

Tullie, Dean of Carlisle. By virtue of his official appointments, his relationship with the Diocesan Prelate, and his matrimonial connections, Chancellor Waugh was in a position of the first consideration and influence in the city and neighbourhood of Carlisle.* During the episcopates of Waugh, Fleming (1734-1747), and Osbaldiston (1747-1764), he was the chief moving spirit in the diocese. He was a staunch Whig, and he laboured assiduously to promote the Whig interests in Carlisle and Cumberland. During the outbreak of 1745 he arranged and managed an intelligence department for the English Government, and organised a corps of guides for the Duke of Cumberland. He was rewarded with the deanery of Worcester, but continued to reside at Carlisle, living in considerable style in Tullie House and keeping a coach and four horses. † His will shows that he had saved little or nothing ; he provided for his only son, the fourth John Waugh in a direct line, by putting him into a living in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, the vicarage of Bromsgrove in Worcestershire. The fourth John was made a Prebendary of Carlisle in 1768, and died without issue in 1777, and was buried on September 6th in the south aisle of Carlisle Cathedral. Five daughters survived Chancellor Waugh : they were handsomely provided for by their uncle, William Tullie, and continued to live in Tullie House, the leaders of local society, keeping a coach and four, and (what was then unique in Carlisle) a footman in livery. They entertained, gave musical parties, built the Folly at Wetheral as a summer-house for themselves and their friends : no one of them ever married, and they are known as "The five famous Miss Waughs of Carlisle."

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* *Carlisle in* 1745, by G. G. Mounsey, p. vii.

† See *Diocesan Histories*, S.P.C.K. Series, Carlisle, p. 172 ; Jefferson's *History of Carlisle*, p. 86 ; and the preface to Mounsey's *Carlisle in* 1745.

WILL

WILL OF JOHN WAUGH OF SCATTERGATE, WESTMORLAND.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. The Tenth day of June In the year of our Lord god one thousand six hundred & nynety, John Waugh, of Scattergate in the County of Westm^rland, Yeoman, being sick in body, but of sound and perfect memory praysed be god for the same, and knowing the uncertainty of this life on Earth, and being desirous to settle things in order and Revoakeing all former Wills doe make and ordaine this my last Will and Testament in manner & forme following, first I comend my Soul to Almighty god my Creato^r Assurdly believeing that I shall receive full pardon & free Remission of my Sinns and be saved by the p^rcious Death & Merits of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Christ Jesus, and my body to the Earth from whence it was taken to be buried in such decent and Christian manner as to my Executors hereafter named shall be thought meet and convenient in the parish Churchyard of St. Lawrence in Appleby and as touching such worldly Estate as the Lord in mercy hath lent me: my will and meaning is the same shall be employed & bestow^d as hereafter by this my Will is expressed: Item I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth Ellison All that my house & Barns Garths Backsides with all other the appurtenancies thereunto belonging situate lying and being in Scattergate, aforesaid, of the yearly free rent of one shilling & sixpence to the Ld of Thanet & sixpence to the Corporation of Appleby: To have & to hold to her & her heires for ever after the decease of me & my wife or the Longer Liver of us; and for want of Issue of her owne body lawfully begotten then to descend to the Right heires of me the said John Waugh for ever, Item in Regard & (for the p^rferment of my Eldest Son John Waugh) haveing sold the best part of my Reall estate my will & meaning is That Thomas Waugh my second Son shall (after the decease of me and my wife or the Longer Liver of us) have and enjoy to him and his heires for ever. All that my closes or inclosure of ground being called and knowne by name of my footlands in ye fields of Scatteragte aforesaid of ye yearly Rent of Three shillings (& 4d ob Millfarme) conditionally that he pay unto my Eldest Soun John Waugh the sume of Tenn pounds of lawfull money of England within a year after my decease, and bear the half part of my funerall Expences. And lastly All the rest of my goods & chattells Movable & Imoveable (my Debts, Legacies, and funerall Expences discharged) I give and beqeath unto my dear Wife Margarett, and my said daughter Elizabeth, whome I make Joynt Exeeuto^rs of this my last Will and Testament. In wittness whereof

I

I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the day and year first above written.

Sealed Signed and declared in the presence of us—
—William Johnson mrk I
—George Dent—jurat—
—Rich. Rotherame—jurat—

—JOHN WAUGH—
his mrk & Seale

Folio 6

Will proved at Appleby, July 30, 1690, and administration granted to Margaret Waugh widow and William Elliotson in right of his wife Elizabeth.

WILL OF JOHN WAUGH, LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I, John Waugh, Bishop of Carlisle and Rector Commendatory of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, being (I thank God) in perfect health and of a sound and disposing mind tho' of a very great age do upon a due consideration had to the frailty of my Life think fit to make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following revoking all other wills whatsoever heretofore by me made. First and chiefly I resign and commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator who gave it Trusting and relying upon the merits and mediation of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for the pardon and forgiveness of all my sins of Omission and Commission and for my body I desire it may be buried (if I dye in Westminster or near London) in the Chancell of St. Peter's, Cornhill, by my late dearest wife or (if in my Diocese of Carlisle) in Dalston Churchyard as near as may be to the late Bishop Rainbow my former kind Benefactor decently but privately with no other Inscription on a plain stone but that such a day and year dyed John Lord Bishop of Carlisle. As to my Goods and Estate which it hath pleased God to bless me with I dispose thereof after my debts and ffuneral expenses are paid as followeth. Imprimis to the poor of the parish of Appleby in Westmoreland where I was born I give five pounds. Item to the poor of Dalston in Cumberland I give five pounds to be distributed by my son Chancellor of Carlisle and Mr. Joseph Nicholson my Secretary. Item I give to Jane Jon of Appleby if alive at my death twenty shillings besides her share of the five pounds

pounds given to that parish. Item I give and bequeath to Mr. Thomas Macken ffiddes my son-in-Law five pounds and remit to him all the money I have Lent and paid for him to the date of this my will as it appears in one of my Books of Account. And whereas I am possessed of at this time seven hundred pounds in Bonds of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies I give devise and bequeath them with all the Interest remaining thereon as followeth. To my dear Sister Elizabeth Elliotson I give and bequeath two of the said Bonds of one hundred pound each and Ten pound to buy her mourning provided that if I survive my said sister and she be not living at my death, I will and bequeath these two Bonds to her two daughters, the one to her daughter Elizabeth, and the other to her daughter Dorothy hereafter mentioned over and above what I have there given them. Item I give and bequeath to her elder daughter Elizabeth Elliotson my God-daughter who hath been very serviceable to me, in reading to me, writing my Letters and taking care of my affairs Two of my said Bonds of one hundred pounds each and two other of fifty pound each in all three hundred pound. Also my topez-ring the whole Duty of Man's Works (as commonly called) in 8vo one of Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and the best of my Bibles in 4to and six of the best silver Spoons which do not belong to the case of the silver knives and fforks and Ten pounds to buy her mourning. Item I give and bequeath to my niece Dorothy Elliotson my sister's younger Daughter Two of the said East India Bonds of one hundred pound each and three silver spoons my 8vo Bible printed 1680 with what other Books and things my Executor shall think fitt to bestow upon her and Ten pound for mourning provided that if it should so happen that there should not be in my possession at my death the full number of East India Bonds for seven hundred pounds I will and oblige my Executor to buy so many as are wanting at the price they are then sold for and to give them according to my bequest and Intention which was that these my poor Relations when I am gone might have something to live upon beside the principal. I could heartily wish that what I bequeath to them had been more considerable and more proportionable to the affection and good will I bear to them. However as inconsiderable as it is I intreat them kindly to accept it, and I earnestly request my son to continue a sincere affection to them to be ready to assist them upon occasion and lett them have some parcell of the Linnen and goods towards ffurnishing a little House where they may live together with their mother if she outlive me till the two sisters can otherwise dispose of themselves. Item I give to all my servants that are at my death living with me a month's

month's wages besides the wages of the Quarter in which I die and to Amy Parker an old faithfull servant two guineas more. Item I give to the Right Reverend Edmund Lord Bishop of London and to the worshipfull John Bettesworth Dean of the Arches to each of them a Ring of Twenty Shillings and after my Executor hath discharged my just debts and cleared my servants' wages I desire he will bestow on my nearest Relations and ffriends (as he shall chose) some mourning Rings of what value he thinks fitt. All the rest of my Goods and chattels, Debts Rents arrears of Rents and other profits whatsoever I give and bequeath entirely to my only son John Waugh Chancellor and prebendary of Carlisle for whom I have always had a most tender affection and whom I here appoint and constitute sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament all written with my own hand. As to my papers I give them to my said son, with this express order that none of them be printed but that he keep them for his own use or destroy them as he thinks fit. Ffinally I once more declare this to be my last Will and Testament and that I revoke all other Wills and Codicils whatsoever heretofore by me made. In witness whereof I have hereto put my hand and seal this (sic) 10th day of October anno Domini 1733. John Carlisle Signed sealed and published in the presence of us whose names are here under written. Cornelius Hinton John Porker.

WILL OF JOHN WAUGH, CHANCELLOR OF CARLISLE AND DEAN OF WORCESTER.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I John Waugh Dean of the Cathedral Church of Worcester being of sound mind memory and understanding but in great weakness of Body do make and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and fform following ffirst I recommend my soul to Almighty God hoping from his infinite Merciey through the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer for the Remission of my many great and crying sins. As for my worldly Estate real and personal of what nature or kind soever I give will devise and bequeath the same as is herein after directed that is to say Whereas the Provision for the support of my dear wife and our dear children depends greatly on the good will and affectionate tender Love and regard our dear Brother William Tullie Esquire has ever bore to them And in confidence of the assurances I received from him the last summer as well in concurrence with the manner he shewed me he had settled his affairs in which my dying before him may make some alteration therefore for these reasons

reasons mentioned I give and devise as above all my said real and personal estates to my dear and beloved wife Isabella Waugh making her sole and whole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament that all my affairs may be put in such posture for the Benefit of our Children as she and her Brother if he will undertake it may direct and appoint hereby revoking all former Wills by me made. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this seventeenth day of April one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five. John Waugh.

Signed sealed published and declared by the above Testator the Reverend Doctor Waugh as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at his Request and in his sight and in presence of each other have subscribed our names as Witnesses (the word said being first interlined). T. Wall. Will[m] Oliver. John Scott.

ART. XXXVIII.—*The Roman Fort on Hardknott known as Hardknott Castle.*

By the Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY, F.S.A.

THE work done at Hardknott in 1893-1894 revealed some features of considerable interest, but ultimately we were driven from the camp by storms of so prolonged a character that I, who remained in the district a few days longer for the purpose of taking levels and measurements with a view to making accurate drawings, was obliged to return home, wishing for "better luck next time." Not being able to choose one's time agreeably with the arrangements of the elements the "better luck" has been deferred, for on three occasions we have expended much labour in clearing interesting features for exposure to the photographic lens and each time have been unable to secure photographs. Mr. Fletcher and myself have several times stayed behind after the men have been sent home, to try another day's luck with the camera, but to no purpose. A fortnight ago I made for Hardknott, staying the night at Seascale to be in readiness for a good day's work on the morrow. An unexpected snowstorm made it quite useless to proceed.

It is desirable that certain exposed portions of the excavations should be protected by being covered over again, and this can be done by the same labour which will assist in discovering the details of the adjoining structures. This is especially the case outside the camp on the south side where the round building, the bath, and the stoke-hole are in danger of being entirely destroyed. These buildings owe their preservation greatly to the fact of their having been built in a hollow place on the mountain

tain side, which made it necessary to cut a channel some three feet deep through the solid rock to let away the water—the channel was cemented on the bottom and at the sides, a leaden pipe laid along the bottom and towards the west side carried away the water—but when ruin came upon the place the channel got choked up, and water and the rubbish of the ruins filled the hollow and buried the lower parts of the structure which remain even now, though successive generations of mountain dwellers have pilfered the ruins, taking away the window glass of different colours, the sheet lead and lead piping (all save a battered piece, less than a foot long, which we found in the deepest part of the rock-cutting,) the bricks and the tiles, and the freestone jambs and coigns, even to the sandstone blocks of the pilæ of the hypocaust. Had these buildings been erected on an open space (and so near the road) as were more extensive buildings further eastward —remains of the foundations of whose flues we found upon the flat ground formed by the tippings from the deep fosse on the east side of the camp—no doubt every stone and every brick would have been removed ages ago. A dalesman, Robert Dixon, aged 64 years, employed with our gang, had, many years ago, helped to take down one of the ancient homesteads with its out-buildings at Spothow, no great distance down the dale, and finding many red bricks in the walling it had been a matter of speculation with him and his companions as to whence they came. When Dixon unexpectedly saw the like bricks upon Hardknott whilst working for us, his riddle was satisfactorily solved much to his surprise, as he explained to us, who were equally surprised to receive this unlooked for evidence of the use made of the ruins by the old inhabitants.

The camp was originally laid out in such a manner as to take advantage of certain knotts and rocky knolls which have been made to flank the gateways and otherwise

wise to aid in the defences. One such piece of rock appears to the south of the western gate, within the camp, and between it and the tower at the south-west corner, and at some distance from the outer wall a foundation of great cobbles has been built up leaving a gangway between it and the wall at a much lower level than that of the camp area within. We cleared a space between the wall and the cobble bank, or foundation, and found earthenware and iron fragments on the old floor level, but whether there has been a platform for ballistæ or other purposes above or not we could not prove. Foundations apparently continued at some little distance from the inner corner of the south-western tower in a parallel line with the outer wall to within a few feet of the south gate, at which place the rock again appeared. We cleared away debris and found that the roadway from the central camp buildings had been lowered sufficiently to pass under the archway of the south gate and so that the men could pass round the battlements and above the gateway upon the same level as that of the adjacent parapet. The same seemed to apply to the western gateway. A doorway was opened out in the central buildings. The great double building near the east gate was with great labour nearly half cleared, a vast mass of hammered stone having to be lifted out and wheeled away. The western half when empty shewed a good specimen of walling. A doorway had led into it at the south end. The walls had been plastered with light-coloured plaster. One or two pieces of red sandstone had been built into the walls. There were no traces of timbers having rested on the dwarf wall which appeared to have run down the centre. The eastern half of the building had a doorway—most distinctly seen—at the north end and a paved causeway appeared outside. To the north of this, building foundations, terribly ruined, of some sort of heating apparatus were discovered, and we were in hopes that we had come upon that which would reveal

reveal the whole secret to us. There were flues running parallel to one another, with a larger cross flue like the bars of a gridiron, and at a higher level something like a ruined hearth. On the lower ground the ashes and refuse of the fires filled the hollow for a great space. We did not find any connection between these flues and the space between the inner walls of the double building, though such connection may yet be found. On the north side of all these buildings, and right through the camp we cut a trench to carry away the water, for the natural course for the water of this part lay here before the camp was planned. When the builders dug the fosse and built the wall they dammed up the shallow watercourse and turned it into the fosse—the site of their little bridge over it for the road to the parade ground may yet be seen. Somebody has pottered about the foundations of the wall until the water has found out its old way, and we were obliged to dig a trench to carry it off. In digging this trench we cut through several foundations, some patches of concrete, the red ashes of a furnace and the lower parts of its foundations. The flues were built of small stones, levelled as though to receive some cover or weight; they were full of charcoal and ashes, and crossed each other at right angles. The great amount of ash debris lying in the hollow close by could never have been produced by these flues alone. There seems to be little doubt that we have found the site of the camp kitchen, but is is in such a ruined condition that it presents only a puzzle at the present moment. Amongst the ash refuse we found a part of a hone with a hole drilled through the end of it, and a rib bone which had been cut (by the knife sharpened on the hone) a bead, a piece of fine glass, and a few pieces of iron and pottery, but we were not searching for these things so much as for structural details. I hope to make another attack as soon as fine weather comes, and if we cannot procure photographs, we must have reliable drawings.

ART. XXXIX.—*Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee* 1894. By F. HAVERFIELD, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Roman frontier-lines which join the Solway and the Tyne consist, as is well-known, of two parts, (1) a stone wall with large and small forts and connecting road, and (2) an earthen Vallum (as it is commonly styled) which runs south of the Wall at a distance varying between thirty and a thousand yards. The relation between these two works has been differently explained. The Rev. John Hodgson and Dr. Bruce held them to be contemporary, the one providing defence northwards, the other to the south. Prof. Mommsen has more recently suggested that the Vallum marks the southern or inside edge of the *limes* or "frontier strip" of the empire: the two works (as he thinks) are contemporary but the Vallum is a legal, not a military object. Other writers consider the Vallum older than the Wall: it was, in their judgment, a great frontier mark which was subsequently superseded by the military defences of the Wall. The most hopeful plan for solving the problem and deciding between the various theories is an enquiry whether Wall or Vallum possess any features indicating that they were or were not contemporaneous. If we could point, for instance, to places where the Wall, or its forts, or its road impinge and override the Vallum, we should have proof that the Vallum was the older work. If we could find north of the Vallum any such frontier-ditch as has been found on the German *limes*, we should again have proof that the Vallum was once an independent frontier line. The excavations commenced last summer under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland

Antiquarian and Archæological Society aim at elucidating these and similar questions and simultaneously at collecting evidence about all the features of both Wall and Vallum. For these purposes sections were dug through the Vallum and from the Vallum to the Wall, search was made for a couple of milecastles, and the road was carefully examined.

It may be convenient here to summarize the chief results, with the premise that they represent a tentative campaign of barely five weeks. (1) The *Vallum* was cut at several points. At Brunstock it shewed the normal profile which it exhibits throughout most of its length, a mound and berm on the north, two mounds on the

FIG. 1.

south, with a broad flat ditch between (fig. 1). In the boggy land at White Moss, the remains suggested a narrower ditch with two mounds on each side. At Gilsland the northern mound contained a curious stone "core." (2) The space between Wall and Vallum was found to contain nothing beyond the road. Apart from some probably accidental indications at Brunstock, nothing in anyway suggested any ditch resembling the German *frontier-ditch*. The results of the search in Cumberland and of four trenches near Aesica seem to shew that we are, so far, without any traces of such a ditch immediately north of the Vallum.

(3) The *road* was noted everywhere except perhaps at Gilsland; it nowhere impinged on the Vallum. The roadway consisted not of the 'flag' pavements so common in many places but of gravel laid on larger stones, raised in the centre, and kept firm by large stones in the centre and along the kerbs. The agger of the road was about 22 feet

22 feet wide and flanked by two small ditches. This is, no doubt, its normal character throughout its length (Bruce's *Handbook* p. 29) but it is probably more perfect at Whitemoss than at any other place where it has been examined.

(4) On the south face of the Wall a projecting course was noted at Brunstock, at Cragglehill and Harehill near Lanercost and at Gilsland Station: it is either a footpath or an extra foundation course. (5) At Bleatarn an important discovery was made of quarry rubbish and tool marks on the sandstone rock more than five feet below the surface. The rock may have been cut away, as at Limestone Bank, to accommodate the Vallum, or there may have been a quarry here. Further investigations will probably throw considerable light on this question and on the whole relation of the Wall and Vallum.

The excavations were very greatly aided by the kindness of landowners and farmers who gave all necessary leaves with great readiness. The Society is especially indebted to the Earl of Carlisle for permission to dig near Lanercost, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and their steward Mr. A. N. Bowman, to Mr. S. G. Saul of Brunstock House for leave to dig at Brunstock Park and at Bleatarn, and to Miss Bell of Irthington. The committee which controlled the excavations consisted of Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. T. H. Hodgson of Newby Grange, and the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A. The latter made a careful preliminary survey of the course of the Wall in Cumberland in order to select places suitable for the work of excavation. All the work was done under full supervision: the names of those who supervised each set of sections is given below. The sections were surveyed by Mr. T. H. Hodgson and Mr. Calverley, and by surveyors from the office of the City Surveyor, Carlisle, and were also carefully sketched and described by Mrs. Hodgson. The following accounts are based on those surveys and drawings and on the notes of the various

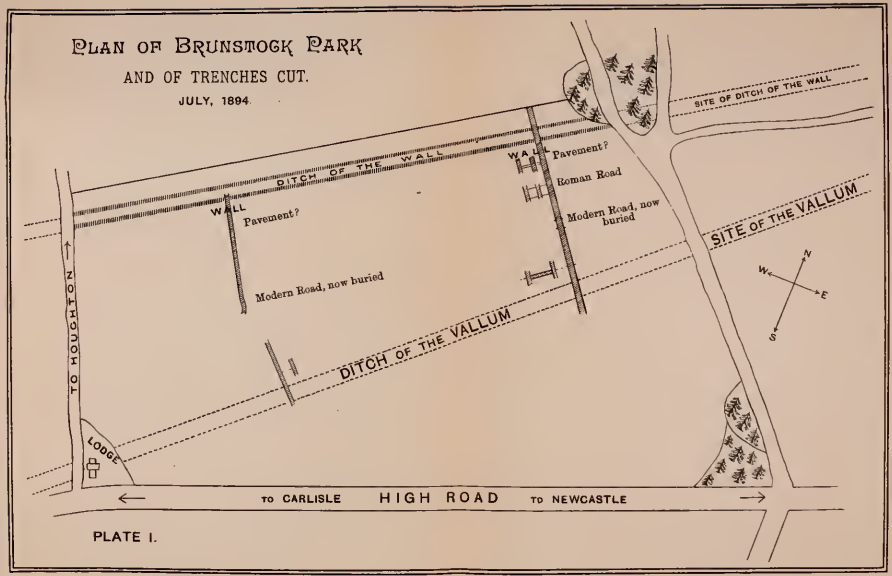
various supervisors. It is right to acknowledge special obligation to Mrs. Hodgson, without whose skilful and ungrudging aid both descriptions and illustrations would have lacked whatever completeness they possess. A statement of expenditure will be found at the end of the report.

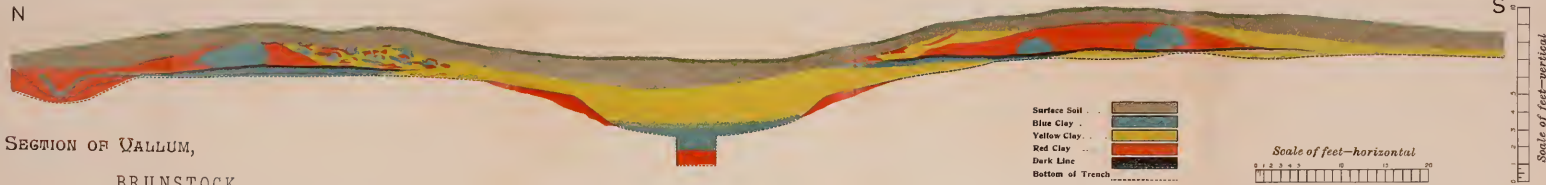
I.—BRUNSTOCK.

The first excavation was undertaken at Brunstock, three miles east of Carlisle, on the property and near the residence of Mr. S. G. Saul. The exact spot selected was in Brunstock Park adjoining the high road from Carlisle to Newcastle (Wade's Road): here the lines of Wall and Vallum are distinct, the two works are barely a hundred yards apart, and the subsoil, a stiff dry clay with occasional patches (apparently) of blue, is such that the *strata* in sections are easily detected. The Park was at no distant date traversed by a modern road, the continuation of the lane which runs close to the Wall from Bleatarn and Wallhead, and part of the area was once occupied by cottages which were removed when the Park was laid down to grass some forty or fifty years ago: our trenches revealed the road but did not, as it seemed, cross the site of the cottages. The work was supervised by Mr. Hodgson, the late Mr. J. Mowat, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. A. H. Smith, M.A., F.S.A., and the present writer. A plan is given with this paper, Plate I.

The main part of the work was the excavation of a trench 2—3 feet wide, and reaching in depth to the subsoil, from the south of the Vallum to the north of the Wall: parallel trenches were dug in various parts of the Park as seemed desirable. It will be convenient to describe the results continuously from south to north. A section is given in Plate II.

1. *The Vallum.* The section through the *southern mound* of the Vallum shewed, above the undisturbed subsoil


PLAN OF BRUNSTOCK PARK
AND OF TRENCHES CUT.
JULY, 1894.
SITE OF DITCH OF THE WALL
DITCH OF THE WALL
WALL
Pavement?
Roman Road
Modern Road, now buried
SITE OF THE VALLUM
WALL
Pavement?
Modern Road, now buried
TO HOUGHTON
DITCH OF THE VALLUM
LODGE
TO CARLISLE
HIGH ROAD
TO NEWCASTLE
PLATE I.



SECTION OF VALLUM,

BRUNSTOCK.

T. H. H. & E. H. July, 1894.

PLATE II.

subsoil, a layer of dark blue matter, and above that was disturbed earth. This dark blue line was about two inches thick, 28 inches below the present surface in the centre of the mound, and 65 feet long. It reappeared in a similar position in the northern mound of the Vallum and elsewhere, and we took it to represent the original surface line. A piece of it was analysed and microscopically examined, but the results were not quite conclusive. The earth above it was undoubtedly disturbed earth, representing the remains of the southern part of the Vallum. For the most part it consisted of *debris* of red clay from the subsoil, but two ridges of blue clay were distinct, each based on the dark blue line. The southern and larger of these ridges was about 7 feet wide at its base and 14 inches high; a little red clay lay between it and the dark blue line on its southern side. The other ridge was 4 feet wide and 14 inches high. At the end of the dark blue line the *ditch* of the Vallum began; we followed the sloping line of undisturbed red subsoil both on its downward slope and on its rise to the northern side of the Vallum. The ditch was filled with a yellowish grey clay; a piece of stick and a bit of brick shewed that it was a comparatively recent deposit. Water hindered a thorough excavation of the ditch; it appeared to be flat-bottomed with sloping sides (angle of 30°), 15 feet wide at the bottom, 30 feet wide at the top and 8 feet deep. Its north bank was marked by the rise of the red clay subsoil: eight feet north of this the dark blue line reappeared and continued underneath the whole *northern mound* for 40 feet, coming (as before) between the disturbed and undisturbed earth. Above it, in the centre of the mound was another blue clay ridge 8 feet wide by 16 inches high; on the north side a wedge of red clay came between it and the dark line. The subsoil here seemed to contain some blue clay lying above the ordinary red clay. Another trench cut 250 yards westwards, shewed that

that the Vallum there presented the same characteristics as those described.

The features of the Vallum, as shewn by these sections, seem to be normal. The ditch agrees in shape with the ditch excavated in Northumberland at Heddon-on-the-Wall and Down Hill (*Arch. Ael.* xvi. p. xxvi.), though it is somewhat broader and deeper. We may now regard it as certain that the ditch of the Vallum was flat bottomed and not V shaped. The materials for the mounds of the Vallum appear, as at Heddon, to have come out of the ditch; they are not, like the *agger* of the Antonine Wall in Scotland, composed of regularly laid sods. The origin of the blue clay ridges may be doubtful, but the similarity between the up cast on the north and south sides of the ditch shews, again in agreement with the Northumbrian results, that the whole of the earth works were constructed at once. Probably the blue clay came from a patch in the ditch; we may then recognize in our three ridges the three mounds of the normal Vallum. The wedges of red clay between the old surface line and parts of the blue clay ridges find a parallel in the *strata* of the upcast at Heddon, where the fire clay from the bottom of the ditch was found partly below, partly above, the rest of the upcast.

2. *The space between Vallum and Wall.* Immediately north of the Vallum a puzzling ditch was found. It was of rounded profile, two-and-a-half feet deep, and was filled with a yellowish grey clay like that in the Vallum ditch; it was undoubtedly of later deposit than the red clay subsoil into which the ditch was sunk. At the bottom were two stones, one on each side of the ditch, and a piece of stick: a longitudinal trench and three parallel sections shewed similar features. The ditch does not appear to have been quite straight, but it was found in about the same position relative to the Vallum 250 yards west of the main section. It has a vague resemblance to the *Grenzgräbchen* found on the German *Limes* at Heftrich, (*Limesblatt*

(Limesblatt 1894. 106*)*, but the stones are few and possibly local; the ditch may have been made in the period before the Park was laid down to grass. For 50 feet north from this ditch the section shewed only an undisturbed subsoil of first blue, then red clay, 13 inches below the present surface. Then we found a road, 21 feet wide, of well rounded profile, constructed of large pebbles laid on the clay; this road was traced at 250 yards to the west and is the modern road mentioned in the first paragraph. For 85 feet the section again shewed only undisturbed subsoil, with a dark clay line on the top, the origin of which is not clear; at the end of this was found *the Roman road* which ran behind the Wall. The road was very much ruined; it was recognised in some parallel sections, but 250 yards to the west no traces were found. It consisted of sandstone and clay, with large stones in the centre and at the kerbs, the centre being highest; the width was about 21 feet. Indications of small ditches were noticed on both sides.

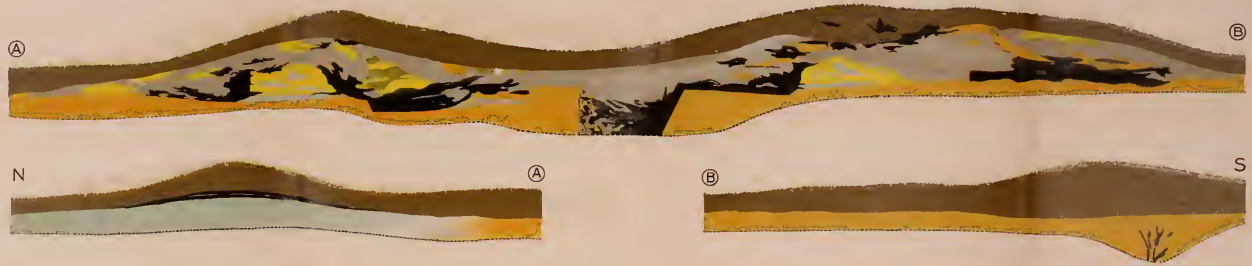
3. *The Wall.* The space between the road and the Wall, about 20 feet, shewed no trace of disturbance; it was partly filled with a deposit of black decayed matter, perhaps from the ditch of the road. The *Wall* itself, though much ruined, shewed one interesting feature. Nine feet south from its front we found, 30 inches down, a rough platform nearly three feet wide. This reappeared in a section 250 yards to the west and in the sections near Lanercost and at Gilsland. The bedding of the Wall was seemingly composed of cobbles; it was itself built of red sandstone with a little cement. In front the berm of the Wall was covered with debris, under which was a dark line above the undisturbed subsoil. The *ditch* was not excavated, owing to the water: the dip and rise of the red clay subsoil suggested that it was about 32 feet wide at the top. North of it the section was carried 47 feet to the fence, and shewed, 23 inches below the

the present surface, a dark blue line, 2 inches thick, resting on undisturbed red clay, with disturbed red and a little blue clay above. This resembled the line under the vallum, and suggests that, as on the Antonine Wall, the earth from the ditch was thrown up on the north side. A section north of the wall at Bleatarn gave the same result.

II.—WHITE MOSS.

For about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Brunstock, Wall and Vallum have almost wholly vanished before the plough. At White Moss near Wallhead Farm there is, however, a tract of moor which has hardly been touched except by peat and gravel diggers. The ground is peaty, with a subsoil of white sand, and, as at Brunstock, the *strata* of the sections are clear. The work was supervised by those who had helped at Brunstock, with the addition of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A. See Plate III.

The surface shews four mounds for the Vallum, but one, if not both, of the two outer mounds may be accidental. The southernmost mound contained no traces of an old surface line or of disturbed earth; the interval of 14 feet between it and the next mound revealed only surface peat lying on undisturbed sand. The second and third mounds were composed of mixed sand and peat lying on an original surface-line, 2 inch thick, of black peat, with the original sand below. In the second mound the disturbed soil contained a ridge of white sand, with peat heaped on its north side and the whole capped with sandy peat: in the third, the ridge was wedged up on both sides with peat. Between these mounds the old surface line stopped and the sandy subsoil gave place to greyish and black peat, the filling of a *ditch*. Water prevented us from finding the depth of this ditch: it went below the general surface level. Its width, hardly 15 feet, does not suit the normal width of the Vallum ditch. North of the third mound for



Section of Vallum

WHITE MOSS, CROSBY-ON-EDEN.

July, 1894.

Scale of feet 0 1 2 3 4 5 10

Brown Surface Peat . . . . . .
Whitish-grey Sand—melts into yellow sand . . .
Reddish-yellow Sand—melts into grey sand . . .
Yellowish-white Sand . . .
Dark-grey Peaty Sand
Black Peat, "black line," and trees imbedded in subsoil . .
Bottom of Trench . .

PLATE III.

Surface Peat .....
Grey Sandy Subsoil ...
Grey Clay .....
Gravel and Sandstone ...
Block Matter .....
Bottom of Trench ..

Scale of feet 0 1 2 3 4 5 10

Section of Road,

WHITE MOSS, CROSBY-ON-EDEN.

July, 1894.

PLATE IV

for 15 feet, was undisturbed ground and then the fourth mound, shewing a black line, with mixed sand and peat above, and beneath it, in order, a thin layer of dark sand, a second black line and the whitish sand of the subsoil. The interval between the north side of the fourth mound and the Wall, 247 feet, was left partly untouched, owing to water: in the middle of it, 110 feet from each side, is the road, singularly well preserved. On either side is a V shaped ditch, on the south 15 inches deep by 18 inches wide at the top, on the north 2 feet deep by three feet wide. The road itself rests on a 4-inch layer of black peat, the original surface line, and consists of (1) a bedding of sandy clay, 6 or 7 inches thick and 27 feet wide, probably a slight extension of the original width; (2) a layer, 10 inches thick and 22 feet wide, of flat stones and gravel, the latter being above the stones and forming the actual roadway, which is raised in the centre; (3) a double row of large stones in the centre, some 2 feet long, and a single row on each kerb, serving to keep the road together. See Plate IV. Parallel sections shewed the same features which seem to be characteristic of the road throughout its whole course, so far as one can judge from recorded observations. From the north ditch of the road an interval of 110 feet brought us to the Wall, which lies under the modern road from Wallhead to Bleatarn: the Wall, like the road, is constructed with the local red sandstone.

Beside these sections, trenches were dug in two fields, one to the west, the other forming an enclosure on the east of White Moss: both fields had been much ploughed and little could be ascertained. In the eastern field Mr. Calverley observed that the indications agreed with the Brunstock results.

The sections of the road are the most satisfactory part of the White Moss excavations. The Vallum is puzzling: in the number and grouping of its mounds and the width of

of its ditch, it differs from the normal scheme of the Vallum. The same difference recurs at Bleatarn (III. i.) and suggests that this normal scheme was not rigidly followed on difficult ground, such as a boggy moss. No certain trace was noted of any mile castle, though, if we may judge by the distance there was one somewhere between Bleatarn and Wallhead (Bruce's *Handbook* p. 222). Near Wallhead, however, the Roman Road slopes away from the Wall, and this divergence would be quite intelligible if a mile castle stood near the present farmhouse. Mr. Calverley noted what he took to be faint traces of foundations a little eastwards, just where a modern road diverges north to Highfield moor.

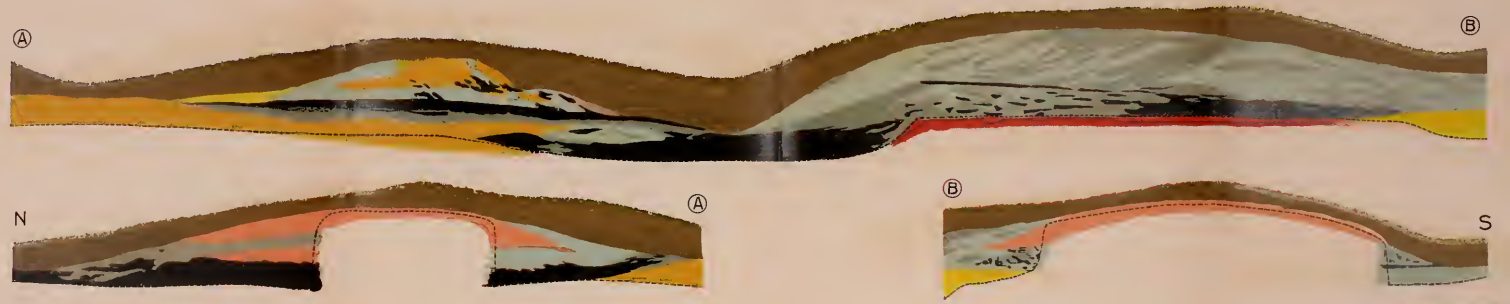
III.—BLEATARN.

Bleatarn field lies immediately east of Whitemoss, from which it is divided by the Bishop's or Baron's Dyke* The field is pasture, in the lower western part boggy like Whitemoss, but rising eastwards as the red sandstone rock comes near the surface. The chief excavations here consisted of (i.) a trench near the Baron's Dyke from the south side of the Vallum to the Wall (see Plate V.) and (ii.) a deep cutting 285 feet from the Dyke on the rising ground. The supervision was the same as at Whitemoss; the eastern section, which produced some remarkable results, was mainly under the direction of Mr. Calverley.

(i.) The first trench was 41 feet east of the Baron's Dyke and commenced south of the Vallum. As at Whitemoss, the present surface of the ground suggested four ridges in the Vallum, extending in all over 106 feet. The southermost ridge seemed plainly to contain made earth; the section shewed the black line of the old surface; under it was undisturbed subsoil of grey sand and gravel,

* Boundary between the Bishop of Carlisle's Manor or Barony of Linstock and the Earl of Carlisle's Barony of Gilsland.

above



SECTION OF VALLUM

BLEATARN, IRTHINGTON.

JULY, 1894.

PLATE V.

above the upcast of sand with a gravel capping from the subsoil in a ditch, the whole being 14 feet wide. North of this is a small depression filled with a layer, 12 inches deep and 9 feet long, of yellowish clay; whether this was a ditch is doubtful. The depression is succeeded by the second ridge, resting on red sandstone bed rock about 3 feet 6 inches below the present surface. This rock was traced for 16 feet; on it lay mixed sand, clay and peat, 14 inches deep, and above that was a black line resembling an original surface line; the above ridge was made of mixed grey sand and grey clay. The ditch north of this ridge was more distinct than the other ditches, being filled with at least 3 feet of peat; it was, however, hardly 7 feet across. The third mound was based on a black line shewing the original surface, which rested on peat on the south and yellow sand and gravel on the north; above was light yellow sand from the subsoil, with a little gravel, flanked with clay. The third "ditch," 16 feet wide, consisted of modern peat lying on the subsoil of sand and gravel; it is simply a depression and not an ancient ditch. Beyond it came the fourth mound which closely resembled the first, being built of clayey sand with a gravel cap, on top of an old surface line; this mound was not cut through. This practically completed the section; we continued the excavation 250 feet to the Wall, here covered by the modern road, but without finding traces of the Roman road. The ridges of the Vallum in this section consist apparently of subsoil cast up out of ditches, but they differ from the normal scheme in number and in nearness; in these points, as in other features, the ridges on Whitemoss and in the lower (western) part of Bleatarn field are very similar.

(ii.) East of this trench the ground rises towards Bleatarn farm-house and hillock, and the Vallum alters with the rise. The four ridges coalesce into two larger mounds with a marked depression between; at the top of the

the rise, where the ground has been ploughed, mounds and depression alike disappear. A section was cut by Mr. Calverley just below the top of the rise with remarkable but puzzling results. The trench, 100 feet long, reached from the edge of the southern mound to beyond the north side of the northern mound. In the southern mound was discovered, 5 feet below the surface, the corner of a bed of red sandstone, the top being overlaid with mixed clays and sandstone *debris*, and the whole coated with blue clay. This sandstone ended abruptly at the south edge of the depression but reappeared 13 feet further north. The depression itself contained a modern stone drain, 3 feet 6 inches below the present surface, and below that 4 feet of black peat with large stones; the peat seemed to be natural accumulation, the stones to be a rough foundation made for the drain. Below the peat was greyish clay and finally, 10 feet below the surface, a bed of light sand-water stopped further search. The north mound, which we could not fully examine, seems to consist of sandstone rubble mixed with blue clay, the whole resting on a bed of sandstone 45 feet broad; on the two sides both rock and rubble are coated with blue clay. The rock has been cut in steps and bears marks of quarrying tools. North of the mound is a small depression, in which peat overlies light sand (as before); beyond is a low heap of rubble. It seems probable either that the sandstone rock has been cut away to suit the Vallum or that there has been a quarry on the spot. Mr. Calverley suggests that this quarry supplied the red sandstone of which the Wall was built in this district, and that, when stone enough had been extracted, the Vallum was carried across it. It is, however, not quite certain that the mounds above the quarried sandstone are those of the original Vallum, nor is it certain that the quarry (if quarry it be) is older than the supposed mounds of the Vallum. It is, therefore, better to withhold judgment till the spot has been fully examined. The

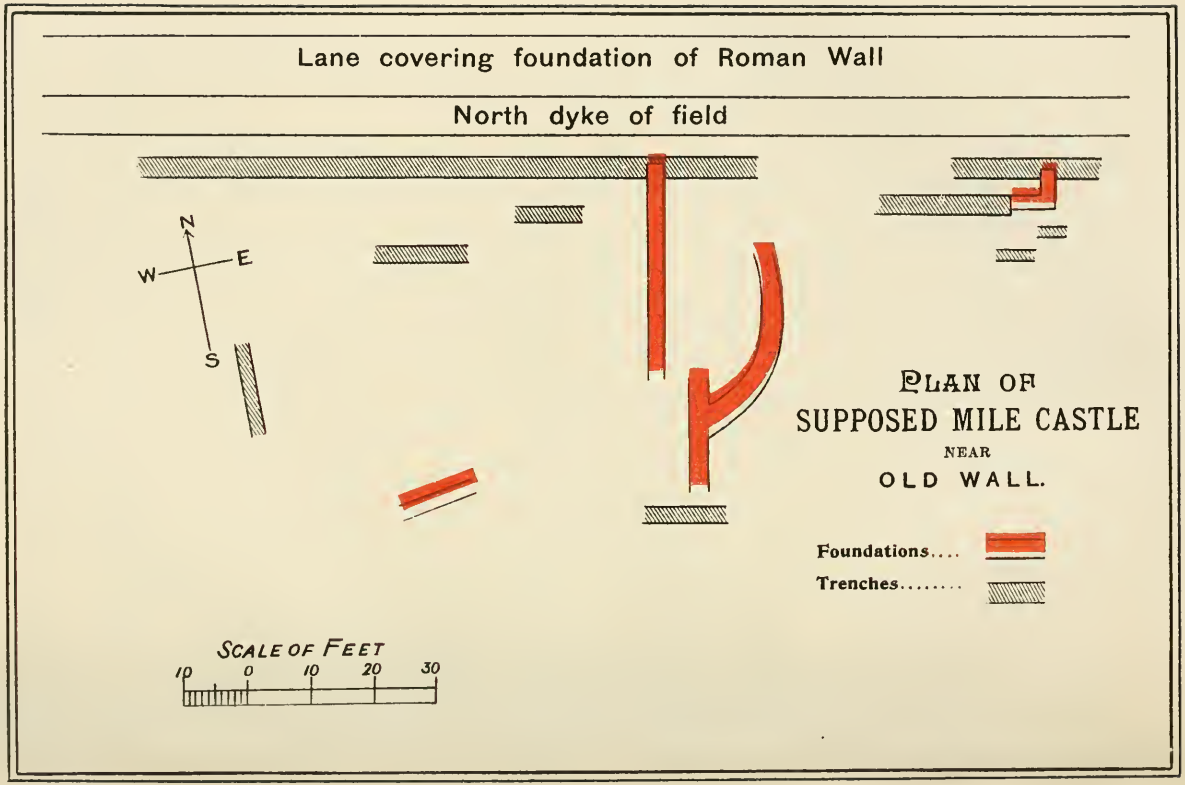

Lane covering foundation of Roman Wall
North dyke of field
N
W
E
S
PLAN OF
SUPPOSED MILE CASTLE
NEAR
OLD WALL.
Foundations....
Trenches.....
SCALE OF FEET
10 0 10 20 30

PLATE VI.

A small section, north of the Wall, shewed that the upcast from the ditch had been thrown out northwards.

IV.—OLD WALL, CHAPEL FIELD.

From Bleatarn to Chapel Field, the line of the Wall can be traced along lanes and hedgerows but there are no actual relics of it or of the Vallum. Traces of building have been noticed between Old Wall and Chapel Field and in Chapel Field, the former supposed to be traces of a mile castle, the latter of a turret. Both sites were examined, unfortunately with little result.

(i). In December Mr. Hodgson trenched a field halfway from Old Wall to Chapel Field. Fragmentary foundations of rough concrete (large and small stones embedded in lime mortar, loose pieces of good stone and bits of pottery testified to occupation. But the foundations were undatable—except that one curved piece was differently made from the rest. The pottery was certainly Romano-British. For plan see Plate VI.

(ii). At Chapel Field the Wall makes a turn and a turret has been suspected. In July Mr. Calverley found large flag stones laid on clay, as it seemed, on the north side of the Wall. The character of these remains is uncertain; Mr. Calverley thinks they belong to the Wall.

V.—HIGHFIELD.

Highfield is the next field eastwards from Chapel Field. Mr. Calverley trenched its eastern end, where Wall and Vallum seem to approach very closely and the subsoil is such as to shew disturbance very clearly. The results, however, were disappointing. The foundations of the Wall and, 60½ feet south of its inner face, the south edge of the Roman Road (A) were traced: the traces of the Vallum were less clear. A ditch, 8 feet wide and at least 4 feet deep (B), was found to have been dug 44 feet

feet from the south edge of the Roman Road, and the upcast on each side corresponded to the strata of the subsoil, lying in inverse order on a thick bed of peat which might be an old surface line. South of this, the ground rises in a bank (c) 10 feet higher than the average level of the ground, and the south mounds of the Vallum seem to have been placed on this bank; (fig. 2).

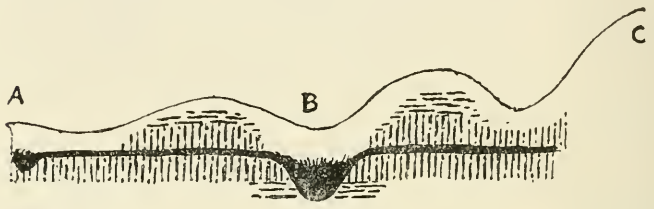


FIG. 2.

VI.—CRAGGLEHILL, HAREHILL.

Cragglehill and Harehill are the western and eastern ends of the high ground, about a mile in length, immediately north of Lanercost. The Wall crosses the top of this high ground: the Vallum runs lower down along the slope about 400 feet from the Wall, and shews at some points an admirably preserved profile of the normal type. The subsoil is, for the most part, red clay. The trenches were supervised by the present writer.

The chief trench, 55 feet from the western hedge of the middle field on the hill side, ran from the north mound of the Vallum to the south face of the Wall. The mound shewed the usual section, upcast corresponding to the subsoil below with the black line of original surface between. About 290 feet from the Vallum and 100 feet from the Wall were indications of the Roman Road about 21 feet wide, constructed as at Whitemoss. Close to the Wall was a flagstone pavement, as it seemed, 28 inches wide, like that suspected at Brunstock. Sections were also dug through the Vallum near Harehill, and north of it at several points: the results resembled those obtained elsewhere.

PLATE VII. GILSLAND VICARAGE.

VII.—GILSLAND VICARAGE.

Wall and Vallum pass through the grounds of Gilsland Vicarage scarcely 100 feet apart. The Wall is admirably preserved; of the Vallum the north mound, with traces of a berm, and the ditch run straight down the steep slope of a little hillock and are plain: the south mounds are fainter. The hillock, like others in the valley near Gilsland, is mainly rough sand and gravel and may have arisen from glacial action. The trenches cut here were supervised by the Rev. A. Wright, Vicar of Gilsland, Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and the present writer.

(i). One section was devoted to exposing the inner face of the Wall (fig. 3). Four courses of walling stone (in all 29 inches high), rest on four* projecting layers, each about

FIG. 3.

9 inch thick: of the latter, the lowest but one, 23 inch wide, recalls the pavement noticed at Brunstock and Lanercost. See Plate VII. The thickness of the Wall, above the projecting layers, is 7 feet.

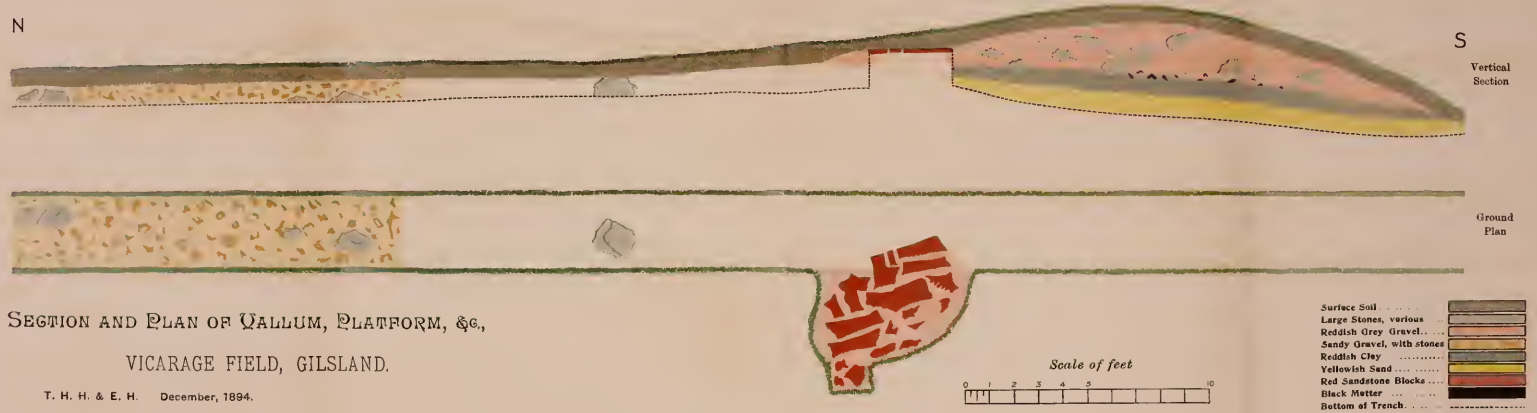
(ii). Six sections of various lengths exposed the Vallum

* The uppermost of these layers *may* be a course of ordinary walling stone slightly bulged out.

and

and the ground between it and the Wall. The Roman road was not found; some stones, large and small, noted in several sections were at first thought to indicate it, but they may be accidental, as stony *debris* from the Wall and subsoil was found here on the berm of the Vallum and elsewhere. Mr. Price thinks he saw indications of a roadway 32 feet from the Vallum; it was 15 feet wide, edged with large stones and filled in with gravel and cobble, but this differs from the road found elsewhere. On the other hand a stone core or foundation was discovered in the mound of the Vallum. (i.) In the first section, at the top of the slope which the earth work here descends, the mound, 20 feet broad at its base, consists of mixed gravel and large stones on a bed of reddish clay; one foot from its northern edge, Mr. Price found a sort of floor or platform, 6 feet by 5 feet, of flag stones about 3 inches thick, and lying on it, some well-dressed stones which might have come from the Wall. Plates VIII. and IX. (2) Twenty-three feet eastwards (i.e. down the slope) a more definite accumulation of large stones was found in the heart of the mound; there was no platform, but a layer 5 feet long of black matter—sand and sandstone fragments stained by peat vegetable decomposition, the sort of mixture (as Prof. A. H. Green tells me) which constitutes much moorland soil. Beyond this black matter was a second, smaller heap of stones. Plate X. (3) Trenches 22 and 50 feet further east shewed heaps of large stones in the centre of the mound, corresponding to that in the second section. (4) A fifth section on marshy soil at the bottom of the slope, 137 feet east of the first trench, shewed seven large stones laid so as to overlap, with clay bedding below. A final trench, 250 feet eastwards across swampy ground, shewed no trace of any stones. These stones are obviously not isolated heaps, nor do they seem to be (as has been suggested) moraine stones. It is possible that a core was used to strengthen the Vallum

on



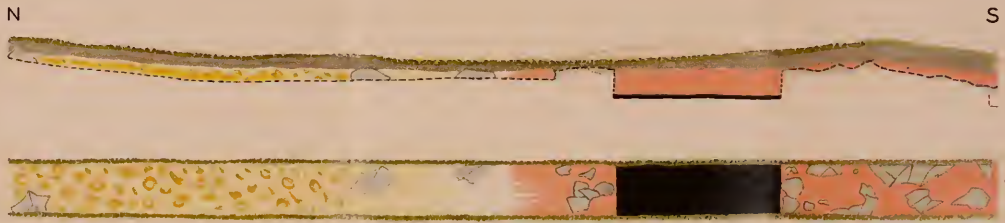
SECTION AND PLAN OF GALLUM, PLATFORM, &c.,

VICARAGE FIELD, GILSLAND.

T. H. H. & E. H. December, 1894.

PLATE VIII.

PLATE IX. GILSLAND VICARAGE.



SECTION AND PLAN OF VALLUM, &c.,

VICARAGE FIELD, GILSLAND.

T. H. H & E. H. December, 1894.

Scale of feet

0 1 2 3 4 5 10

Surface Soil
Large Stones, various
Gravel, with stones
Sandy Gravel, stony
Black Deposit
Bottom of Trench

PLATE X.

on the slope. There were no traces here, any more than elsewhere, of anything like the German "boundary-ditch."

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Labour, include board and travelling expenses of workmen.	36	16	3
Compensation	8	0	0
Surveyors	10	0	0
Miscellaneous, Printing, &c. ...	2	5	9
	57	2	0

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